





THE  
LIFE OF AGRICOLA  
AND  
GERMANY

BY  
R. CORNELIUS TACITUS

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BOSTON, U.S.A.:  
PUBLISHED BY GINN & COMPANY.  
1889.

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THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.



## INTRODUCTION.

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PUBLIUS\* CORNELIUS TACITUS, the greatest of the Roman historians, flourished in the reign of the Emperor Trajan (A.D. 98-117). There is no positive evidence as to the place of his birth, or its date, or the time of his death. A tradition of no great value makes him a native of Interamna. This was the birthplace of the Emperor Tacitus, who claimed kinship with the historian. As to the year of his birth, we know only that he was somewhat older than his intimate friend, the younger Pliny, who was born A.D. 61 or 62. Pliny himself says (Epp. vii. 20) that they were *propemodum aequales*; but adds: *adulescentulus, cum jam tu fama gloriaque floreres, te sequi... concupiscebam*. These expressions may point to a difference in age of four or five, possibly even eight or ten, years: we cannot well place the birth of Tacitus earlier than 51 or later than 56. The best authorities are generally agreed upon A.D. 54. Two or three considerations tell in favor of an earlier date. In the Life of Agricola (Chap. III.) he appears to reckon himself among those who, being *juvenes* at the accession of Domitian, had arrived *ad senectutem* under the rule of that tyrant. Now forty-five was the age of *senectus* according to Roman law; and as Domitian died in 96, Tacitus can hardly have been born much later than 51. Again, the narration of

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\* His *praenomen* has been usually given as Gaius, but is now generally accepted to have been Publius, on the authority of one of the best manuscripts.

the events of the years 68 and 69 in the *Histories*, appears to be that of an eye-witness; if so, we cannot suppose him to have been less than fifteen at that date. Another consideration is that Tacitus was *praetor* A.D. 88, which was the first year he could have held that office, under the rules of the Republic, if he had been born in 51. These rules were, it is true, no longer in force; nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that they still exerted some influence, and that this office would not be held much before the traditional age. It may be added that Pliny was probably not far from fifty-five when he made use of the expression *propemodum aequales*; and that this term might apply very well to two men of fifty-five and sixty-three or five. He probably died about A.D. 116.

Of the events of his life very little is known. He married the daughter of Agricola in the year A.D. 78 (Chap. IX.), and it has been conjectured that he was a member of his military family during his administration of Aquitania the three previous years. He was *praetor* A.D. 88, and was afterwards absent from Rome for four years, during which period his father-in-law died, A.D. 93 (Chap. XLV.). He was consul under Nerva, A.D. 97. We learn from several passages in Pliny that he was a distinguished lawyer and orator, as well as historian.

It is almost by accident that we possess the writings of Tacitus, for the manuscripts in which they have come down to us are very few, and badly mutilated. These writings are: 1. *The Dialogue of Orators* (*De Oratoribus*), an early composition, so different in style from his later works that many have thought it could not have been written by him. 2. *The Life of Agricola*. 3. *Germany*: a description of the nations of Germany, which forms our best source of information as to their early condition. It is about as large a work as the *Agricola*. 4. *The Histories*, in fourteen books: a detailed narration of events



from the death of Nero, A.D. 68, to that of Domitian, A.D. 96. Only the first four books and part of the fifth are extant. 5. *The Annals*: properly an introduction to the Histories, less full and minute, but in a more finished and maturer style. It consisted of sixteen books, and embraced the period from the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, to that of Nero, A.D. 68. Four books and parts of four others are missing. He planned also a history of the good times after Domitian, but seems never to have undertaken it.

Tacitus was in theory a republican, and had no liking for the empire. He knew very well that the Republic could never be restored, and was satisfied that the beneficent rule of Nerva and Trajan had solved the problem of government for the Romans, and that they now enjoyed the best practicable combination of liberty and authority. But he could not forget the horrors of the evil times that had gone before, and he gives full and unrestrained expression to his hatred of the tyranny of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. His style glows with intensity of feeling when he speaks of them; and he often rises on these occasions into a stern and passionate eloquence. This appears also to have been his characteristic as an orator; for Pliny says that when engaged in the prosecution of a cruel and unjust provincial governor, he spoke *eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi ejus inest, σεμνῶς*,—which last word we may render, “in a stately, earnest style.” As a writer, he had the same characteristics; he excels in graphic power, though he is often obscure from excessive condensation: but the student is always repaid for his efforts by the intrinsic excellence of his writings.

The Life of Agricola stands by itself in ancient literature as a biography of the modern type,—not merely the worthily related life of an eminent man, like those of Plutarch and Nepos, but a personal tribute of affection and admiration by

one of his own household. No classical work is therefore better fitted to form part of a course which aims to contain only what is intrinsically best and most characteristic. It is one of those *tonic* writings which help to elevate and strengthen the moral nature and build up character.

My aim, in the present edition, has been to meet the needs of such a course. I have left special philological training to the teacher, only making occasional reference to the leading grammars. On the other hand, I have undertaken to explain the historical references with great fulness, and to give needful assistance in all real difficulties. In the text I have for the most part followed Kritz, but have not hesitated to vary from it when there seemed to be good reason, especially in several cases to restore the reading of the manuscripts. In preparing the commentary, I have been chiefly assisted by Kritz, but have also made use of Dräger, Church and Brodribb, and Freund. My special thanks are due to Prof. TRACY PECK of Cornell University, who has carefully read the whole proof, and whose suggestions have frequently caused me to change or modify my opinions.

It is my intention to follow this, as early as possible, with an edition of the *Germania* of Tacitus.

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN.

MADISON, WIS., May 20, 1880.

# THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

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I. CLARORUM virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. \* Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtreptioni fuit; adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit; quam non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

II. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse; neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper

sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid  
5 in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere. III. Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu  
10 Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cottidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum Securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur assumpserit: natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardi-  
15 ora sunt remedia quam mala; et, ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos,  
20 grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad  
25 ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber, honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut  
30 excusatus.

IV. GNAEUS JULIUS AGRICOLA, vetere et illustri Forojuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater Julius Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquen-

tiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gaii Caesaris meritus; namque M. Silanum accusare jussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaeque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum 5 pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se in 10 prima juvena studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulcritudinem ac 15 speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas; retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

v. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit, electus 20 quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam retulit; sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in 25 jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatio magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit. Trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intersepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis 30 ductuque alterius agebantur ac summa rerum et recuperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex 35 magna fama quam ex mala.

vi. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi junxit; idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam  
5 caritatem et invicem se anteponendo; nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit; quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et  
10 proconsul, in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum  
15 etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae  
20 propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset.

vii. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus afflixit. Nam classis Othoniana, licenter vaga,  
25 dum Intemelios (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii depre-  
30 hensus ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, juvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimae legioni,  
35 tarde ad sacramentum transgressae, praeposuit, ubi

decessor seditiose agere narrabatur; quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor simul et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

VIII. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne increceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevis deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat; saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem et ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando, extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricos ascivit, ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae imprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis jurisdictio secure et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exercent. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat. Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa; ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et saepius misericors; ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona. Tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat; nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam

quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit; procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiae tum  
10 spei filiam juveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit; et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

x. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparisonem curae ingeniive  
15 referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur;  
20 Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur. Septentrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongae scutulae vel bipenni assimilavere. Et est ea  
25 facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa; sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affir-  
30 mavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus jussum, et hiems appetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus; perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli; credo, quod rariores terrae



montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere hujus operis est, ac multi rettulere. Unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenuis accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo. 5

xī. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum comper- 10 tum. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupa- 15 passe fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit; in universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum 20 persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus; in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detractandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emolli- erit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; 25 mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt. xīī. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur; honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc 30 per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur; nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus; ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. 35

Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum ; asperitas  
frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis men-  
suram ; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis,  
ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine inter-  
5 noscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem  
solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire  
affirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum, humili  
umbra, non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera  
nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera  
10 calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecun-  
dum ; tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt, eademque utri-  
usque rei causa, multus humor terrarum caelique.  
Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla,  
pretium victoriae. Gignit et oceanus margarita, sed  
15 subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus  
arbitrantur ; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis  
avelli, in Britannia prout expulsa sint colligi ; ego  
facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam  
nobis avaritiam.

20 XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta  
imperii munera impigre obeunt, si injuriae absint ; has  
aegre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut servi-  
ant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius  
cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera  
25 pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri  
ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia,  
et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa  
oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus  
Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium  
30 Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox  
ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Ger-  
maniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auc-  
tor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et  
assumpto in partem rerum, Vespasiano ; quod initium  
35 venturae mox fortunae fuit. Domitae gentes, capti  
reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

xiv. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius; redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae. Addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) ut, vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, aggressus terga occasioni patefecit. xv. Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere. Nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aequae discordiam praepositorum, aequae concordiam subjectis exitiosam; alterius manum, centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiores esse, qui spoliet; nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse jugum, et flumine, non Oceano, defendi; sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent; plus

impetus, majorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent ; jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, delibe-  
5 rare. Porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam audere.

xvi. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boadicea generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpserunt universi bellum ; ac sparsos  
10 per castella milites consecrati, expugnatis praesidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis. Nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus, cognito provinciae motu, propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret ; quam unius proelii  
15 fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plebisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera arroganter in deditos et, ut suae cujusque injuriae ultor, durius consularet. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus  
20 tamquam exorabilior ; et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus  
25 civilium armorum praebuit justam segnitiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque humilis,  
30 precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem ; et seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina : eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum ; nisi quod innocens Bolanus et  
35 nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

xvii. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, aggressus. Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset; *subiit* sustinuitque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

xviii. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media jam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas, haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia; et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum, ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum incohaturus, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae, ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellionem totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in dubiis consiliis naves deerant; ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota

vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus 5 haberi Agricola; quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola, prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne 10 laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est. Sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

xix. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, 15 si injuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per liberos servosque publicae rei; non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem, milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare; omnia scire, non omnia exsequi; parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare, nec poena semper sed saepius paenitentia 25 contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque 30 per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta, ac ludere pretio cogebantur; devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates, proximis hibernis, in remota et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosus fieret.

xx. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam 35

famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coercere: loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetentare; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque, ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit.

XXI. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque bello faciles quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa fora domos exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes. Ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga, paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Annotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones; nam adversus moras

obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum aestate atque hieme  
5 juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercept; seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur; ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos injucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia  
10 nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium ejus non timeres; honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

xxiii. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus.  
15 Namque Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur, quod tum praesidiis firmabatur, atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

xxiv. Quinto expeditionum anno, nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit, eamque partem Britanniae, quae Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem; si quidem Hibernia, medio inter  
25 Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud  
30 multum a Britannia differt in melius; aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis  
35 debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse, idque etiam



adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

xxv. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit. Quae ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, misti copiis et laetitia, sua quisque facta suos casus attollerent; ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

xxvi. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte aggressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus irrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin

etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret. xxvii. Cujus conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant; atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute *se victos*, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspiracy civitatum sancirent; atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

xxviii. Eadem aestate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immisti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad aquam atque utilia rapientes cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi, ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia venundatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus illustravit.

xxix. Initio aestatis Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa 5 classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit, quem jam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti 10 commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis juvenus et quibus cruda ac 15 viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

xxx. "Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram 20 intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romana; ita proelium atque arma, quae 25 fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant; quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora aspicientes, 30 oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; nunc terminus Britanniae patet. Atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluc- 35

tus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, jam et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari, si  
5 pauper, ambitiosi; quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant. xxxi. Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos  
10 natura carissimos esse voluit; hi per delectus alibi servituri auferuntur: conjuges sororesque, etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluantur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac  
15 paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur; Britannia servitutem suam cottidie emit, cottidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est,  
20 sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius.  
25 Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes, femina duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac, nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere; nos integri et indomiti et libertatem non in  
30 paenitentiam laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit. xxxii. An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus  
35 sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gen-

tibus, ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent  
 — nisi Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britan-  
 norum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sangui-  
 nem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos,  
 fide et affectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror est, in- 5  
 firma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere  
 desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta  
 pro nobis sunt; nullae Romanos conjuges accendunt,  
 nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla ple-  
 risque patria, aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos 10  
 ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas ignota om-  
 nia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos  
 dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et  
 auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vul-  
 nerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus; 15  
 agnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli  
 priorem libertatem, deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam-  
 quam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra  
 formidinis; vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male  
 parentes et injuste imperantes aegra municipia et dis- 20  
 cordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus; ibi tributa et me-  
 talla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum  
 perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde  
 ituri in aciem et majores vestros et posteros cogi-  
 tate.” 25

xxxiii. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris mo-  
 ris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Jamque  
 agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque pro-  
 cursu; simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola, quam-  
 quam laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem 30  
 accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit:

“Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et  
 auspiciis imperii Romani fide atque opera vestra Bri-  
 tanniam vicistis; tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu  
 fortitudine adversus hostes seu patientia ac labore paene 35

adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et  
5 armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam : quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt, e lateribus suis extrusi ; et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque  
10 prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse, aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem ; ita fugientibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut com-  
15 meatuum eadem abundantia ; sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt ; nec inglorium fuerit in  
20 ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse. xxxiv. Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer ; nunc vestra decora recēsete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis aggressos  
25 clamore debellastis ; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelle-  
30 runt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt ; novissimae res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expe-  
35 ditionibus ; imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem ;

approbate reipublicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi."

xxxv. Et alloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus affunderentur; legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editoribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen aequo, ceteri per acclive jugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

xxxvi. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus. Nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis qui in aequo astiterant erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes, aemulatione et impetu conisae, proximos quosque caedere; ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum

turmae fugere; covinnarii peditum se proelio miscuere, et, quanquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea jam pugnae facies erat, cum  
5 aegre clivo astantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant. xxxvii. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nos-  
10 trorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola, quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium  
15 Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum; sequi, vulnerare, capere atque eosdem oblati aliis trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique  
20 ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre; passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, identidem primos  
25 sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et, sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod  
30 vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit.  
35 Caesa hostium ad decem milia; nostrorum trecenti



sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus. xxxviii. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaeque laeta victoribus. Britanni palantes mistoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, 5 deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari; satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tamquam miserarentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit; vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvi- 10 usquam conglobari hostes compertum et exacta jam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni redierat. 15

xxxix. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur; at nunc 25 veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum; privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli; frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; et cetera 30 35

utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiat, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret; nam etiam-  
5 tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et illustris statuæ honorem et quicquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet, addique  
10 insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuum tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse cum praecepto ut,  
15 si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse: sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam  
20 quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium immistus est. Ceterum, ut  
25 militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo ut plerique quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola,  
30 quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querella laesi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimico-  
35 rum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicae

tempora, quae sileri Agricola non sinerent : tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi ; tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti ; nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem extimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricola interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in approbanda excusatione offerre ; postremo non jam obscuri suadentes simul terrenesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et cum annuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, proconsuli consulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit ; sive offensus non petiit, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris ; Domitiani vero natura, praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilius, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia

neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo  
5 laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitae ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad  
10 domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum; nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius quam  
15 ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venire; sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem  
20 tamen doloris animo vultuque prae se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore judicioque; tam  
25 caeca et corrupta mens assiduīs adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule Idibus Juniis, excessit quarto et quinquagesimo  
30 anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris, Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque ejus posterī noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus et impetus in vultu, gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse  
35 quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis

ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit; quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimis non gaudebat, speciosae contigerant. Filia atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus; incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiiis futura effugisse. Nam sicuti *non licuit* durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Trajanum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rempublicam exhaustit. XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius tum reus erat. Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit; praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque ejus, praeter acerbitem parentis erepti, augeat maestitiam, quod assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit; excepissemus certe man-

data vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus; nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissima uxore, 5 superfuere honori tuo; paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui. XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab 10 infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione te potius, quam temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, aemulatione decoremus. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi 15 cujusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxori praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur; non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quae marmore 20 aut aere finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus, quicquid mirati sumus, 25 manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios, et ignobiles, oblivio obruit; Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

## NOTES.





## NOTES.

### *Argument.*

CHAPS. 1-3. Reasons for writing the book. The better times under Nerva and Trajan. — 4. A.D. 40. Birth of Agricola. — 5, 6. His military experience and civil career. — 7, 8. A.D. 70. Placed in command of a legion. — 9. A.D. 74. Governor of Aquitania and of Britain. — 10-12. Description of Britain. — 13, 14. Its conquest. — 15, 16. — Insurrection of Boadicea. — 17. The government of Britain until the arrival of Agricola. — 18, 19. A.D. 78. War with the Ordovices. — 20, 21. A.D. 79. His peaceful administration. — 22. A.D. 80. Conquest to the Tanaus. — 23. A.D. 81. To the Clota and Bodotria. — 24. A.D. 82. Description of Ireland. — 25-27. A.D. 83. War with the Caledonians. — 28. Adventure of the Usipian cohort. — 29. A.D. 84. Renewal of the war. — 30-32. Speech of Calgacus. — 33, 34. Speech of Agricola. — 35-37. Battle of Mons Graupius. — 38, 39. Subjection of Britain. — 40. A.D. 85. Return of Agricola to Rome. — 41, 42. His treatment by Domitian. — 43. A.D. 93. His death. — 44. His character and demeanor. — 45. The character of the times. — 46. Conclusion.

NOTE. — In the grammatical references, *Gr.* stands for *Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar*; *G.*, for *Gildersleeve*; and *H.*, for *Harkness*.

### CHAPTER I.

1. 2. **usitatum**: this participle qualifies the clause **clarorum . . . tradere**, where we might rather expect a relative clause. It is a common construction in Tacitus. — **ne nostris quidem**, etc., “even our generation, indifferent as it is.”

3. **quamquam incuriosa**: this use of **quamquam** and some other conjunctions with adjectives or participles, that is, without any complete predicate, is common with Tacitus and the writers of his age. So in English, *although* [it is] *indifferent*. — **suorum, its great men**; objective genitive after **incuriosa, indifferent**.

9. **gratia, partiality** or *partisanship*, desire to gratify; **ambitione, self-seeking**, desire to get favor or reputation for themselves.

11 **fiduciam morum, confidence in their own character**, consciousness of rectitude; in apposition with **suam . . . narrare**.

12. **Rutilio**: P. Rutilius Rufus, a friend of Lælius and Scipio, a statesman, orator, and Stoic philosopher, a man of unblemished

integrity in an age of corruption. He was banished about B.C. 92 by an unjust verdict, because his strict administration of his province had brought upon him the enmity of the public contractors. He wrote (probably in his banishment at Smyrna) an autobiography; also (in Greek) a Roman history. — **Scauro**. M. Æmilius Scaurus, consul B.C. 115. He was the leader of the aristocracy during the period of reaction between the Gracchi and the civil war; a man of pride and some show of dignity, but venal. He wrote his own life. — **citra**, in writers of the silver age, used in the sense of *without*. — **obtrectationi**, dative of end or service. This union of different constructions to express the same relation, **citra fidem et obtrectationi**, is common in Tacitus.

13. **adeo**, used, as it frequently is, to qualify the whole sentence; *so true it is that*, etc.

14. **nunc**, in these bad times.

15. **opus fuit**, perfect, *I have been obliged to ask*. This first chapter is, as it were, an apology for his undertaking.

16. **incusaturus**, a protasis, *if I had been about to attack*: in this case, such was the depraved public sentiment, he would not have needed indulgence. — **infesta**, *vindictive*. — He now proceeds to give examples of the evil times.

## CHAPTER II.

18. **legimus**, perfect: this does not refer to books, — Tacitus did not need to go to them for the events of his own time, — but to the **acta diurna**, an official bulletin published by authority of the emperor, and serving much as a morning paper to the citizens of the capital. — **Aruleno**, etc. Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio were men eminent for their abilities and virtues, who were put to death by Domitian, because they had eulogized these victims of former tyranny; Pætus Thrasea was put to death by Nero, Helvidius Priscus was banished by him, and afterwards suffered death under Vespasian. — **Aruleno** and **Herennio** are dative of agency, a very common construction in the silver age.

21. **saevitum** [**esse**], *vengeance was wreaked*. — **triumviris**, sc. **capitalibus** or **nocturnis**: an inferior grade of officers, invested with certain police powers, as assistants of the ædiles, as well as in certain classes of civil cases. They were the public executioners when the punishment was inflicted in the prison. Their being deputed to the work of burning the books was designed to increase the contumely, as the burning of books was regularly performed by the

ædiles, magistrates of high rank; so, in modern times, burning by the common hangman.

23. **in comitio ac foro.** The comitium was the upper part of the forum, towards the Capitoline mount: the words **in foro** are added to indicate the publicity of the act.

2. 1. **sapientiae, philosophy.** — **professoribus**, in the modern meaning of the word. The teachers of philosophy were banished about A.D. 94. — **omni bona arte**: this relates to the same act, — by the banishment of the professors, every high aspiration in art and science was driven into exile.

2. **occurreret**, used without an object, *should meet one*: almost in the modern sense, *occur*. Notice that **honestum** qualifies **quid** as an attribute, *anything that is honorable*; **quid . . . honesti** would mean, *any virtue or honor*.

5. **inquisitiones.** This refers to the trade of informer, or **delator**, which was at its height under Domitian. (See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. vii., p. 127; see also Vol. v., p. 130).

### CHAPTER III.

8. **nunc demum**; *i.e.*, after the death of Domitian, who was assassinated in September, 96.

9. **saeculi**, a cycle of years, originally identified with the longest age of a man, which was reckoned to be 100 years (Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie*, p. 174). It is used here in a more general sense, *age*, and especially as the reign of a given prince. — **Nerva Caesar.** Nerva reigned from September, 96, to January, 98; the use of this expression shows that this work was composed in his reign; for if he had died, he would have been called “*Divus Nerva*.” The same thing is shown by the use of the perfect tense, **miscuerit**.

10. **miscuerit.** Tacitus generally uses the subjunctive after **quamquam**. — **principatum**, the office of prince or emperor, *monarchy*; this mixture of royalty and liberty makes a constitutional monarchy.

12. **Nerva Trajanus.** Trajan was adopted by Nerva, and associated with him in the empire in September, 97, adding the name of Nerva to his own. This expression, therefore, taken in connection with *Nerva Caesar* above, shows that this work was written at some time between September 18, 97, and January 27, 98.

13. **fiduciam ac robur** may be regarded as a hendiadys; *firmly grounded confidence*.

16. **oppresseris** and **revocaveris**: the common use of the perfect subjunctive, second person singular, to express an indefinite subject; *one can*, etc.

17. **subit**, *creeps upon us*. — **quippe**: this particle is primarily asseverative, *in truth*; but being frequently used in causal clauses, it is used by late writers as equivalent to **quoniam**. In this place it comes nearer to its original meaning, but still with a slight causal force; *Nay, more than this*, etc.

19. **quindecim annos**. Domitian reigned from A.D. 81 to 96.

23. **juvenes**, *those of us who were young*. The age **juventus** extended to about 45. This expression appears to prove that Tacitus was at least 45 at the accession of Nerva, and that he must therefore have been born as early as A.D. 51.

26. **memoriam**. This refers to his *Histories*, which embraced the period from the death of Nero (A.D. 68) to that of Domitian (A.D. 96). — **testimonium** is an allusion to his intention of writing a history of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, — a plan which he appears never to have carried into execution.

#### CHAPTER IV.

32. **Forojuliensium** (the name of the people put, as is very common, for that of the town). Forum Julii (*Fréjus*) was a colony founded by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 44. It had an excellent harbor, for which reason Augustus sent there the ships captured at Actium, and made it a naval station to guard the coast. It was during the empire the chief naval station of this coast. — **colonia**: see note, Chap. XXXII. — **procuratorem**. The procurators (agent or "proctor") were the financial officers of the emperor, one of whom was stationed in each province. In the senatorial provinces, which were administered by a proconsul and quæstor, the procurator had charge only of the revenues which were especially destined to the *fiscus*, or privy purse of the emperor; in the imperial provinces, the procurator was the sole financial officer. In the lowest grade of imperial provinces, a procurator had the entire charge of the administration of the province. See note on **legatis consularibus**, Chap. VII.

33. **equestris nobilitas**: the office of procurator was confined to persons of equestrian rank, which is here contrasted with real or senatorial nobility; this term has also been explained as meaning

that this office conferred a certain distinction upon members of the equestrian order, somewhat akin to nobility proper, which, it will be remembered, belonged to persons any of whose ancestors had held curule office; equites, whose ancestors had held the procuratorship, enjoyed *equestrian nobility*.

34. **senatorii ordinis.** The senatorial and equestrian "orders" were not fixed categories of rank, but, as is shown in the case of Agricola himself, often indicated the stage of honor which the individual had attained.

3. 2. **Gaii Caesaris**, better known as Caligula, emperor after Tiberius, A.D. 37-41; a cruel, dissolute youth, no doubt insane. Seneca says of Græcinus: *quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret.* *De Benef.* ii. 21. Græcinus wrote a treatise *De Vineis*. Columella, I. 1, 14. — **M. Silanum.** M. Junius Silanus, whose daughter married Caligula, was hated by this tyrant, and commanded by him to kill himself.

4. **sinu indulgentiaque:** a kind of hendiadys, *in her tender protection*.

6. **arcebat:** the subject is the clause, **quod . . . compositum.**

7. **peccantium = peccatorum:** similar uses of the participle are common in Livy and Tacitus.

9. **Massiliam.** *Marseilles*, an ancient Greek town of high reputation for culture and character.

10. **mistum:** note the construction, where the English would say, *in which were mingled*.

13. **Romano ac senatori:** *i.e.*, in view of the dry and practical tastes of the Romans, and especially the merely political qualities needed by a senator. — **hausisse** represents here **hauriebat** of direct discourse; *He began to drink in*, etc. Gr. § 308. b; G. § 599. R. 2; H. § 510. II.

17. **caute**, for **cautius:** Gr. § 192. b. The most characteristic quality of Agricola was energy.

18. **ex sapientia:** *i.e.*, as a result of his philosophical studies. — **modum:** *i.e.*, of character.

## CHAPTER V.

19. **castrorum**, *military science*, of which the rules of encampment (fortification) formed a principal part. — **Suetonio Paulino:** see Chap. XIV.; dative after **approbavit**.

20. **moderato**: his most prominent characteristic as a general was caution.

21. **contubernio**, ablative of means; **aestimaret**, subjunctive of purpose: *test him by having him as a tent-mate*.

23. **titulum tribunatus et inscitiam**, referring to the idleness and ignorance of those who received the rank of tribune merely as an empty title. This is the military tribuneship; six tribunes commanded each legion.

24. **noscere**, etc.: the historical infinitive, very common in Tacitus.

27. **exercitator**: this was the time of the famous revolt of Boadicea, A.D. 60; see Chaps. XV. and XVI.

29. **coloniae**. There was but one regularly organized colony in Britain, Camulodunum (Colchester); but there were populous settlements of Roman citizens in London and other places.

30. **mox**: in late writers this usually has the meaning *afterwards*.

34. **temporibus**: best taken as ablative; these qualities were not unacceptable *to the age*, but to the ruling authorities (the emperor) *in the age*.

35. **erga eminentes**: connected with **interpretatio**, — an unfavorable interpretation was put upon every thing that they did.

## CHAPTER VI.

4. I. **ad capessendos magistratus**: it was necessary to pass through the several grades of magistracy in order to rise to high stations in the army. See notes below; also Chap. VII. — **capessere** is a technical expression in this use.

3. **decus ac robur**: not merely *honor*, but also positive *assistance* was derived from this marriage.

5. **nisi quod**, etc. There is an ellipsis here, suggested by **invi cem**; "this mutual regard is equally a credit to both of them, *unless*, — good wives being so rare, — it should be considered *that*, etc."

7. **sors quaesturae**. The quaestorship stood first in the series of honors; forty were elected each year, who were then assigned by lot to service in the city and the several provinces. Their functions were financial; they attended to the finances of the state and its treasury, **aerarium**, while the procurators had charge of the finances of the emperor and his privy purse, **fiscus**. The quaestorship could, in the Empire, be held at the age of 25. —

**Asiam.** This province embraced the western part of Asia Minor; being an old and quiet province, it belonged to the class of senatorial provinces, and was therefore governed by a proconsul: see note, Chap. VII. — **Salvium Titianum**, brother of, the emperor Otho, and, like him, a corrupt and greedy man.

8. **neutro**, neuter, relating to both circumstances, the richness of the province and the venality of the governor.

11. **facilitate**: *i.e.*, in making unlawful gains. — **redempturus esset**, *was ready to purchase*.

12. **subsidium**: by the Lex Papia Poppæa a certain precedence in taking honors was allowed to those who had children.

13. **sublatum**: the child soon after birth was laid at its father's feet, and he, by lifting it up, **tollere**, recognized it, and professed his intention to rear it. If he did not do this, the child was exposed in the forest and left to perish.

14. **tribunatum plebis**. This was the second stage of honors; either this or the ædileship was, in the Empire, required of all except patricians before they could hold the prætorship (Mommsen's *Römische Staatsrecht*, Vol. i., pp. 439, 456, 471).

16. **pro sapientia fuit**, *served for or was a mark of wisdom*; see end of last chapter.

17. **jurisdictio**: the administration of justice in civil cases belonged to only two out of the whole college of prætors (fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen in all at this time), the *urbanus* and *peregrinus*; the others gradually lost their criminal jurisdiction, as presiding in the *quaestiones perpetuae*, and, on the other hand, received the charge of the public games in place of the ædiles.

18. **medio**, *in a mean between*.

19. **duxit**, *he conducted*.

20. **Galba**, the successor of Nero, A.D. 68. — **ad dona . . . recognoscenda**: that is, those which had been lavished by Nero, or plundered by his favorites. Agricola got back all except those which had come into the hands of Nero himself.

## CHAPTER VII.

23. **sequens annus**: A.D. 69. On the 15th of January Galba was murdered by the Prætorian Guard, and succeeded by Otho; Agricola, having been an officer of Galba, was exposed to the resentment of his successor.

25. **Intemelios**. Albium Intemelium was a free town, *municipi-*

*pium*, upon the seacoast of Liguria, a few miles east of Nicæa, *Nice*; here the name of the inhabitants is put, as in the case of **Forojulensium**, Chap. IV., for that of the town. Both manuscripts here read, **in templo**; the correction is easily made from Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 13: *Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albium Intemelium*. — **Liguriae**. Liguria was the ninth of the eleven regions into which Augustus divided Italy: it was bounded on the north by the Padus, *Po*; on the east by the Trebia and Macra.

27. **patrimonii**: the original meaning, of an inherited estate, appears to have been lost, and the word is used here especially to denote furniture and household property.

29. **Vespasiano**. Otho had been succeeded, after a short reign, by Vitellius, and he in turn by Vespasian, governor of Judæa. Vespasian's general, Licinius Mucianus, governor of Syria, led the advance against Vitellius, overthrew his power, and administered affairs in Rome for some time before Vespasian arrived in Italy from the East. All these events took place A.D. 69.

30. **in partes, to the party**: sc. **Vespasiani**.

31. **principatus, reign**: the republican Tacitus uses in preference the emperor's title as civil head of the state, **princeps**, rather than **imperator**, which implies the possession of military and autocratic power.

32. **Domitiano**, Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, afterwards infamous for his vices and tyranny as emperor, accompanied Mucianus to Italy as representative of his father.

34. **vicesimæ legioni**: this legion, known as **Victrix**, was stationed in Britain.

5. 1. **decessor**: his name was Roscius Cælius. — **legatis consularibus**. The provinces which were so completely brought under the authority of the Empire as to need no armed force (eleven in all), were administered, as in the Republic, by proconsuls (see Asia, Chap. VI.). The rest of the provinces were placed under the immediate rule of the emperor as proconsul, who governed them through his **legati**, or, — in the case of nine of inferior importance, — by mere agents, **procuratores**. The rank of the **legati** depended upon the importance of the province; provinces like Aquitania (Chap. IX.), which required only a single legion, were assigned to a **legatus pro prætore** (with prætorian power) **prætorius** (of prætorian rank) — the commander of a legion was **legatus prætorius legionis**: provinces which, as Britain, had more than one legion, were given to **legati pr. pr.**



**consulares** (*i.e.*, of consular rank). There were twelve provinces of each grade. **Legatus consularis** means, therefore, *Governor* of an imperial province of the first rank; **legatus praetorius** may mean, as here, *commander of a legion*, or, as is the case of Agricola's office in Aquitania, *Governor* of an imperial province of the second rank.

2. **nimia**, *too powerful*. — **legatus praetorius**, Roscius Cælius.
3. **suo**, *sc. ingenio*: *i.e.*, by his own fault.
4. **successor et ultor**, predicate after **electus**; **successor** relates to the governor, **ultor** to the mutinous soldiers.
5. **videri**: *i.e.*, by working upon their feeling of honor.

## CHAPTER VIII.

9. **incresceret**, *become too prominent*: the subject is Agricola.
10. **obsequi** and **miscere**: poetic construction after adjectives.
11. **consularem**, *sc. legatum*, *governor*: a common ellipsis.
12. **exemplorum**, objective genitive: *room to display themselves*.
14. **communicabat**, *sc. cum eo*.
15. **ex [eventu]**, *after*: *i.e.*, *in consequence of success*.
16. **gestis**, ablative of cause with **exsultavit**.
17. **auctorem**, the one under whose *authority* and by whose auspices he acted.

## CHAPTER IX.

20. **revertentem** (not **reversum**), *on his way back*.
- legatione**, *sc. praetoria*, *command of the legion*. See note to **legatis consularibus**, Chap. VII.
21. **patricios**. The old patriciate had become almost extinct, as no additions had been made to it since the very earliest days of the Republic; the emperors therefore adopted the policy of bestowing this rank upon persons of high birth and distinction, in order to increase the splendor of their court, and in order that certain priest-hoods, held only by patricians, might be filled. — **provinciae Aquitaniae**. See note on **legatis consularibus**, Chap. VII.
22. **dignitatis**, genitive of quality with **provinciae**.
25. **castrensis jurisdictio**, *military law*, exercised by a commander over his soldiers. — **secura**, *free from solicitude*, as not being subject to appeal, to the caprice or ignorance of juries, or to the scrutiny of opposing counsel; **obtusior**, *simple*: *i.e.*, resting

upon blunt common sense, not upon acute legal analysis; **manu agens**, *off hand, summary*.

26. **fori**: the Roman courts of justice were upon the forum; hence our word "forensic."

27. **togatos = cives**: the toga being the garb of peace; as commander of a legion, his **jurisdictio** was **castrensis**; as governor of a province, it was **inter togatos**. The word cannot be confined here, as usual, to Roman citizens, but is used to contrast the civil with the military jurisdiction.

28. **jam vero**, *moreover*.

29. **divisa**: *i.e.*, from one another. — **conventus**, the judicial districts into which the provinces were divided; it was also used for the assemblies held in the districts for the purposes of jurisdiction. These were a kind of judicial circuit; by **judicia** is meant the regular administration of justice by the governor in the city of his residence. — **poscerent**, Gr. § 309. *b.*; G. § 569. Rem. at end; H. § 486. 5.

30. **et [saepius]**, *and at the same time*.

31. **persona**, (*mask*), *putting on* of the dignity of power.

32. **exuerat**, *had kept himself free from*.

6. 3. **collegas**, the governors of neighboring provinces; **procuratores**, the imperial agents in his own province: see note, Chap. IV. As the procurators were directly responsible, not to the governors, but to the emperor, quarrels appear to have been very common between them and the governors (Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 110).

6. **statim** in sense qualifies **ad spem**. — **consulatus**: the office of consul was now hardly more than a title, held usually for two months. Agricola held it with Domitian during the last six months of A.D. 77.

7. **in hoc**, *to this effect*.

9. **elegit**, perfect definite.

12. **pontificatus**: an ancient priesthood having, in the Republic, the general supervision of the religion of the state; it had now become a mere dignity, all its power being exercised by the emperor, who was *ex officio* its head, **pontifex maximus**.

Chaps. X.-XVIII. contain a digression upon the nature and previous history of the island preparatory to the account of Agricola's administration.

CHAPTER X.

13. **multis scriptoribus**: *e.g.*, Cæsar, Strabo, Pliny. It is in the dative.

14. **in comparationem**: *i.e.*, in order to surpass former writers in these respects.

16. **comperta = satis certa**. — **rerum, facts**, “*with historical accuracy*.”

18. **spatio ac caelo**, *in extent and in latitude*.

19. **Hispaniæ** (dative): Cæsar, *B. G.* v. 12, makes the same mistake.

20. **in meridiem**, like **in orientem**, etc., denotes the general direction: *to the south*. — **inspicitur**, *is visible*: **Gallis** is the so-called dative of the agent.

21. **nullis . . . terris**, ablative absolute; **contra**, adverbial.

22. **Livius**: *i.e.*, in his 105th book, as is known from the Epitome. — **veterum** and **recentium**, *sc. auctorum*. — **Fabius Rusticus** wrote a history of the emperors beginning with the reign of Claudius.

25. **citra**, *as far as*. Caledonia is that part of Scotland which lies north of the Forth and Clyde.

27. **extremo iam litore**: *i.e.*, when one seems to have already reached the end, where the island narrows at the friths of Forth and Clyde. — **velut in cuneum tenuatur**: *i.e.*, it first widens, then again narrows like a wedge.

28. **novissimi**, *most distant*. — **tunc primum**: *i.e.*, under Agricola's administration; see Chap. XXXVIII.

31. **dispecta**, *seen dimly*.

32. **hactenus**, *only so far*: these reasons are given for not visiting the land.

33. **pigrum**: this adjective, applied also in the *Germania* (Chap. 45) to the northern sea, is sometimes explained as *frozen*. That this is not the case in this passage is shown by the explanation which follows. Probably the explorers fancied — it is hard to guess why — that they found these northern waters more sluggish than those of the Mediterranean; they noticed, at any rate, that squalls were more sudden in the shallower seas.

34. **perinde**, *sc. atque alia maria*.

7. 4. **fluminum**, *currents*. — **huc atque illuc**: *i.e.*, on both coasts.

5. **litore tenuis**, *only to the shore*. — **accrescere aut resorberi**, *flow or ebb*.  
 6. **inseri**, reflexive, *make their way*.  
 7. **in suo**, *in their own dominions*.

## CHAPTER XI.

10. **ut inter barbaros**, *sc. fieri solet*.  
 11. **varii**: *i.e.*, in different parts of the island. — **argumenta** *i.e.*, as to their origin, that they were not of one nationality.  
 12. **rutilae comae**, etc.: not *red*, but *reddish yellow*; in the *Germania*, Chap. 4, Tacitus speaks of the **rutilae comae**, **magna corpora** of the Germans. This resemblance serves to support the theory that the Picts of Caledonia, or northern Scotland, were of Teutonic race.  
 13. **colorati**, *swarthy*.  
 14. **posita contra**: a common idiom of the participle; *the fact that Spain lies opposite* [which, however, it does not]; the Silurians were in South Wales. The features here described were characteristic of the Iberians of Spain.  
 16. **proximi Gallis**, etc.: Cæsar says the same, *B. G. v. 12*, *maritima pars ab iis [incolitur] qui prædae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierunt*; adding, Chap. 14, *neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine*.

Here we have three distinct nationalities, in the north, the west, and the south; of the first two we have the physical features carefully described; of the third, the statement of both Cæsar and Tacitus that they were of Belgian origin, — but the Belgians themselves were of doubtful nationality (Cæs., *B. G. ii. 4*). Cæsar does not tell us of any distinctions among the aborigines of Britain, such as Tacitus here indicates.

17. **in diversa**, *in opposite directions*: *i.e.*, towards one another.  
 19. **aestimanti**, *when one considers*: this use of the present participle in the dative (of reference), a common construction in Greek, is often used in Latin by Livy and the later authors.  
 20. **eorum**: *i.e.*, the Gauls.  
 21. **persuasiones**: the manuscripts read **persuasione**; but while identity of sacred rites, **sacra**, might prove identity of belief, **persuasiones**, the converse would not be the case. — **in deposcendis**, etc.: cf. Cæs., *B. G. iii. 19*, *ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est*.  
 24. **emollierit**: Gr. § 320, *e*; G. § 636; H. § 519.

25. **nam Gallos quoque**: so Cæs., *B. G.* vi. 24, *ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent.*

28. **Galli**, an attribute, *when Gauls.*

## CHAPTER XII.

28. **robur**, *principal strength.*

29. **honestior auriga**: just the opposite of the Greek custom, as illustrated in Homer.

31. **factionibus**, of the chiefs; **studiis**, of the people. — **nec aliud**, etc.: a general proposition, not referring to the Britons alone.

33. **duabus tribusve**, *two or three*, not necessarily excluding even more; **tribusque** (the reading of one manuscript) would mean, *two, and occasionally three.*

35. **singuli**, *sc. populi.*

8. 1. **caelum**, etc.: a good description of the climate at the present day; Cæsar also says, *B. G.* v. 12, *remissioribus frigoribus*, as compared with Gaul.

2. **nostri orbis**, *our part of the world.*

7. **transire**: *i.e.*, above the horizon; the midnight sun of more northern latitudes is referred by Tacitus' informants to northern Britain. — **scilicet extrema**, etc. Tacitus appears to have conceived the earth as a disc moderately rounded to its centre, like a shield; the sun passing along the very edge of this world cast no shadow except at some distance from the circumference. — **extrema et plana terrarum**: this kind of a partitive genitive is very common in the late writers.

14. **pretium victoriae**, *worth fighting for.*

16. **in rubro mari**, *the Persian Gulf.*

18. **ego facilius**, etc.: a good illustration of the keen, cynical humor characteristic of Tacitus.

## CHAPTER XIII.

20. **ipsi Britanni**. After describing the island (Chap. X.), its inhabitants (Chap. XI.), and customs, climate, etc. (Chap. XII.), Tacitus proceeds to its history.

21. **obeunt**: a case of *zeugma*, as this verb applies only to **munera**, services; with **delectum**, may be supplied **patiuntur**; with **tributa**, **conferunt**. These three make up the amount of the obligations resting upon the provincials. For the nature of these

**munera**, see Chap. XXXI. — **imperii** is here to be understood not as *empire*, but *authority*: *i.e.*, of the emperor. — **absint**: subjunctive of a case supposed or conceived of, implying that it is not a usual occurrence.

23. **Igitur**, *now*: not an unusual meaning. — **divus Julius**, Julius Cæsar.

24. **Britanniam ingressus**, B.C. 55 and 54: see Cæsar's *Gallie War*, Books IV. and V.

25. **terruerit**: the late writers frequently use the subjunctive after **quamquam**.

26. **bella civilia**: *i.e.*, of Cæsar and Pompey, and those that followed.

27. **principum**, Cæsar and Pompey.

28. **Consilium**, . . . **praeceptum**, *a matter of policy . . . a rule of the empire. Augustus addiderat . . . consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam. Annals, i. 11.* See also Gibbon, Chap. 1: Augustus "bequeathed as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries." Notice that Tacitus gives the epithet **divus** only to the good emperors.

29. **Gaium Caesarem**, the crazy Caligula, the grandson of Augustus, and successor to Tiberius, A.D. 37-41.

30. **velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae**, *sc. fuisset*: **mobilis paenitentiae** is a genitive of quality. This change of construction is quite characteristic of Tacitus.

31. **ingentes . . . conatus**. So in the *Germania*, Chap. 37, *ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae*.

32. **Divus Claudius**, successor of Caligula, reigned A.D. 41-54: it was he that made Britain into a province. His expedition, in which he himself took part, remaining sixteen days upon the island, was A.D. 43.

33. **iterati operis**, by a common idiom, *the renewal of the work*.

— **legionibus auxiliisque**: a contrast constantly made; the legions were always composed of Roman citizens.

34. **assumpto**: *i.e.*, as commander of the second legion.

35. **fortunae**: this would seem to refer to all that follows, — the elevation of Vespasian as well as the conquest of Britain.

36. **fatīs** may be considered either ablative, or dative of the agent; some take it as meaning "to the destinies."

CHAPTER XIV.

9. 1. **Aulus Plautius** was governor A.D. 44-47; **Ostorius Scapula**, 47-51. — **in formam provinciae**: the appointment of a governor, **legatus consularis**, established the provincial organization, and this was made complete by the division of the territory into census districts and other financial arrangements.

4. **colonia**: this was **Camulodunum**, usually identified with **Colchester** in **Essex**.

8. **et reges**. The territories of tributary princes were regarded as practically forming an integral part of the empire. See **Marquardt**, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., p. 340; also **Arnold's Roman Provincial Administration**, page 10 and following. — **haberet instrumenta**: note the peculiar order of thought; the logical subject is **populus Romanus**, and the principle of policy here indicated is given as if it were the purpose of this special act. — **Didius Gallus** was governor A.D. 51-57; **Veranius**, A.D. 58; **Suetonius Paulinus**, A.D. 59 and 60.

10. **in ulteriora**: *i.e.*, beyond the organized province. — **aucti officii**: *i.e.*, doing more than his duty.

13. **biennio** = **per biennium**.

14. **Mona**, **Anglesea**. — **quorum fiducia**, *through confidence in which*; qualifies **aggressus**.

CHAPTER XV.

19. **ex facili** = **facile**.

20. **singulos**, *one at a time*. — **binos**: *i.e.*, the governor, **legatus consularis**, and fiscal agent, **procurator**. — **e quibus**: equivalent to the partitive genitive **quorum**.

23. **alterius manum**, etc.: the officers detailed to assist the governor in administration formed a kind of staff, **manus**; the fiscal agent acted through clerks and accountants, who were regularly slaves.

26. **In proelio**, contrasted with **nunc**.

28. **nescientibus**, agreeing with **sibi** understood, dative after **eripi**, etc.

29. **quantulum**, diminutive, *what a mere handful*.

30. **Germanias**: this refers to the successful uprising of **Arminius** and the defeat of **Varus**, A.D. 9, which was, however, confined to Lower Germany. — **flumine**: *i.e.*, nothing but a river, the **Rhine**.

32. **illis**, the **Romans**.

10. 1. **jam**: *i.e.*, things had come to such a pass.

4. **quod difficillimum fuerit**: *i.e.*, they have taken the first and most difficult step.

5. **deprehendi**: connected logically with **consiliis**, — when one has once begun to entertain such schemes, etc.

## CHAPTER XVI.

7. **Boadicea**: the manuscripts vary as to the spelling of this name. The form here given is that familiar in literature; so with **Thule**, Chap. X., where the manuscripts read **Thyle**.

15. **tenentibus**, concessive, *although*, etc.; that is, he suppressed open rebellion although most still maintained a threatening attitude.

16. **propius** qualifies **agitabat**, with special emphasis upon **timor**.

18. **ut suae cujusque**, etc.: *i.e.*, *punishing each wrong to the state as if done to himself*; **ut**, *as*, qualifies **suae**.

19. **Petronius Turpilianus** was governor A.D. 62–64.

20. **novus**: *i.e.*, *inexperienced*.

21. **prioribus** is neuter.

22. **Trebellio Maximo**: he governed Britain A.D. 64–69.

24. **curandi** is used absolutely, *attending to matters*.

26. **civilium armorum**: following the death of Nero, A.D. 68.

27. **discordia**: *i.e.*, with Roscius Cælius, commander of the twentieth legion; see Chap. VII.

30. **precario**: *i.e.*, only by the sufferance of the soldiers. — **pacti**, *sc.* **sunt**, agrees with **exercitus** and **dux**; **velut**, *as it were*.

31. **Vettius Bolanus**: A.D. 70.

34. **nisi quod**: *i.e.*, the only difference was that, etc.; see Chap. VI., line 5.

## CHAPTER XVII.

11. 4. **Petilius Cerialis**, governor A.D. 71–75. — **Brigantum**: the Brigantes occupied the whole north of England, and were thus at this time outside of the Roman province.

9. **subiit**: this word does not stand in the manuscripts, but something like this is necessary for the sense. — **Julius Frontinus**, one of the most distinguished men of the day, author of a work *de Aquaeductibus* and *de Strategematis*. — **quantum licebat** qualifies



**sustinuit**; Frontinus was **vir magnus** without any qualification; nor were the times of Vespasian (notwithstanding his parsimony), *infesta virtutibus*, like those of Nero and Domitian.

10. **Silurum**: the Silures inhabited South Wales.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

14. **aestate**: A.D. 78.

15. **omissa**: *i.e.*, for this year.

16. **verterentur**: note the tense, — they were making up their minds to idleness. — **Ordovicum**: they inhabited North Wales.

17. **alam**: a division of auxiliary cavalry, divided into **turmae**, *squadrons*.

18. **agentem**, *stationed*. — **erecta provincia**: the insurrection, beginning among the free Britons, spread to the province.

19. **quibus** relates to **ii** understood, subject of the historical infinitive **probare**; it is in the possessive dative, and has **volentibus** agreeing with it, in the sense of *in accordance with whose will*; = **qui bellum volebant**.

20. **animum**, *temper*.

22. **numeri**: a common term for detached bodies of troops; supply **erat** with **transvecta**, etc.

23. **tarda et contraria**: in apposition with the preceding clauses. — **incohaturus**: used generally, — *one who intends to begin*.

25. **vexillis**. The regular standard of the Roman legions was called **signum**, — a metal figure, **insigne** (a disc, hand, eagle, etc.), at the top of a staff; the legion, the cohort, and the maniple, each had its *signum*. The **vexillum** was a small square of cloth, attached to a cross-bar at the top of a staff (often connected with the *signum*). It was used for various special purposes; it was the standard of the cavalry, and probably of the auxiliaries (see Chap. XXXV.); and a red **vexillum**, placed upon the general's tent, was the signal for advancing into battle. When a company of soldiers was detached on special service, its *signa* were left with the legion, and it took with it a *vexillum* instead; hence such detached bodies of troops are often, as here, called *vexilla*; it refers to *numeri*.

26. **quia**, etc.: this causal clause, as is often the case, refers to the statement which follows.

28. **erexit**, *led up, i.e.*, the mountain.

29. **instandum**, *sc. esse*.

30. **cessissent** represents **cesserint** (fut. perf. ind.) of direct

discourse; it is a past tense, as depending upon **intendit**. — **ceteris**, masculine: the rest of the insurgents.

33. **dubiis**: not that his plans were wavering, or uncertain, but the war was unexpected.

35. **auxiliarium**: these were no doubt Batavians, who lived in a land of rivers and marshes; by **vada** is meant not these particular shallows, but waters of this kind.

12. 3. **qui classem**, etc.: that is, they looked for an attack by sea, and were unprepared for an approach from the mainland. In the repetition of **qui** we have the figure called anaphora.

4. **crediderint**: Gr. § 287. c; G. § 513; H. § 482. 2. — **venientibus**: dative after **arduum**.

7. **officiorum ambitum**: *eager seeking after the pageantry of office*, — a common meaning of **officia**.

9. **expeditionem aut victoriam**: predicate after **esse** understood, in apposition with **victos continuisse**.

11. **laureatis**, *sc. litteris*: letters announcing victory were often wreathed with laurel.

12. **aestimantibus**, see **aestimanti**, Chap. XII.

## CHAPTER XIX.

16. **injuriae**: the manuscripts read **incuriae**, but the whole chapter describes his measures to prevent **injuriae**, wrongs done to the provincials.

17. **domum**: *i.e.*, his staff, assistants, etc.

19. **publicae rei limits nihil**.

21. **ascire** (for the manuscript reading **nescire**), *sc. in numerum accensorum*, *detail* for special duty at headquarters, — then, as now, regarded as a privilege; they were called *beneficarii*.

23. **exsequi** = **ulcisci**, *punish*.

25. **officiis et administrationibus**: this appears to refer to a higher grade of duties, — the command of forts, detached posts, etc.

28. **circumcisis**, *sc. iis*: neuter.

29. **Namque**, etc. The rest of the chapter presents considerable difficulty, but is to be taken as explaining the abuses which were *tributo graviora*. These were two in number; the obligation of the provincials, it will be remembered, was to furnish corn. First, when the Romans had already an abundant supply, while the provincials would have preferred to pay money, they refused to receive money, so that the Britons *were forced in mockery to wait*

outside the closed (because full) *granaries* (of the Romans), and buy corn needlessly, and thus make a fancy price (*ludere pretio*). Secondly, as they had the power to direct the corn to be delivered wherever they pleased, they would select for this purpose distant and inaccessible places.

34. *in promptu*: *i.e.*, under fair conditions.

## CHAPTER XX.

13. I. *intolerantia*, *intolerable haughtiness*.

3. *aestas*: A.D. 79. — *multus in agmine*: this refers to his all-pervading personality; it may be rendered *ever present* etc.

4. *modestiam*, *good discipline*; *disiectos*, *stragglers*.

5. *praetentare*: *i.e.*, in order to find a passage.

6. *quominus*, etc.: the idea of hindrance is contained in *quietum pati*; leaving them in quiet would prevent him from making incursions.

9. *ex aequo*: *i.e.*, *independent*.

12. *transierit*: *i.e.*, no newly-acquired territory had before this time been annexed with so little molestation. The word *pariter* is not found in the manuscripts.

## CHAPTER XXI.

14. *bello*: the manuscripts read *in bello*, which has no meaning.

16. *publice* = *ex aerario*. — *ut templa*, etc.: wherever the Romans set their foot, they left memorials of their rule in the form of noble public buildings.

18. *Jam vero*, *moreover*.

19. *ingenio*, etc.: *i.e.*, that the Britons could accomplish more by natural genius than the Gauls by diligence.

22. *toga*: the toga was the distinctive dress of a Roman citizen; it was like the adoption of dress coats and silk hats by the Japanese.

25. *humanitas*, *civilization*.

## CHAPTER XXII.

The events of this chapter were A.D. 80.

28. *Tanaum*: this is the manuscript reading, for which most editions read *Taum*, *Tay*. But Agricola did not reach the Tay, as is shown by the next chapter. It was probably the Tyne, just north of Dunbar, the only estuary of any size on the Scottish coast south of the Forth.

29. **quamquam** belongs with **conflictatum** : see note on **quamquam incuriosa**, Chap. I.

35. **eruptiones** : *i.e.*, from the fortresses.

14. 1. **annuis copiis**, *supplies for a year*.

2. **quisque** : *i.e.*, commander of a post. — **irritis**, *baffled*.

4. **pensare**, *balance*.

6. **intercepit** : *i.e.*, take the credit of. — **centurio**, a legionary officer ; **praefectus**, a commander of auxiliaries or cavalry.

10. **secretum**, *hidden grudge*.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

12. **Quarta aestas** : A.D. 81.

14. **terminus**, *sc. imperii*.

15. **Clota et Bodotria**, *Clyde and Forth* : as these are given as the limit of what Agricola *percucurrerat*, it is clear that he did not reach the Tay, which lies further north.

18. **sinus** : not *bay*, but winding shore enclosing the bay. So in *Germania*, Chap. I ; **propior sinus**, the southern shore of the friths.

### CHAPTER XXIV.

20. **nave prima** : *i.e.*, as soon as navigation opened, A.D. 82. — **transgressus** : *i.e.*, from the southern shore of the Clota.

22. **eam partem** : this would seem to be the long peninsula of Cantire, the part of Britain which approaches nearest to Ireland.

23. **in spem** : *i.e.*, of future conquest.

26. **valentissimam imperii partem** : the three countries of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, which formed the praefecture of the *Galliae* in the organization of Constantine. It was really the most vigorous part of the empire. According to Tacitus's geographical notions (see Chap. X.), Ireland formed a connecting link, **miscuerit**, between these.

28. **nostri maris** : the Mediterranean.

29. **haud multum differt in melius** : *differs not much, but is on the whole better*. The verb is in the singular as relating to the several subjects taken as a whole.

33. **in occasionem** : he never appears, however, to have found the opportunity.

34. **ex eo** : *i.e.*, Agricola.

CHAPTER XXV.

15. 3. **Ceterum**, etc.: the operations of this year, A.D. 83, were in the lowlands upon the eastern coast, north of the Forth.

5. **hostilis exercitus**: *i.e.*, of the Romans; their marches were made **infesta** by the attacks of the enemy.

10. **misti copiis et laetitia**, *sharing rations and joining in merriment*.

12. **profunda**, *recesses*; **adversa**, *dangers*.

13. **hinc ... hinc**: by the land and the naval forces respectively; **victus** belongs with both.

15. **tamquam** in late writers often has the meaning, *on the ground that*.

22. **specie prudentium**, *under the show of prudence*. The Latin often uses an adjective where the English would prefer an abstract noun.

CHAPTER XXVI.

31. **vestigiiis**: ablative. This is a kind of adverbial ablative, used in military operations.

32. **ab universis**: the **velocissimi** had gone in advance, and now the legions, following up, raised a united shout, **universi**, and at the same time the gleaming of their standards was seen.

16. 1. **erupere**: *i.e.*, the soldiers of the ninth legion.

2. **utroque exercitu**: *i.e.*, those in the camp, and those that brought aid.

CHAPTER XXVII.

8. **fremebant**: plural, with the collective noun **exercitus**. — **illi** relates to **ignavi specie prudentium**, Chap. XXV.

11. **uni**: *i.e.*, the commander.

16. **sancirent**, *make firm, establish*. This is the primitive meaning of the word: that of holiness, **sanctus**, is a secondary meaning.

17. **discessum**: *i.e.*, the opposing armies. The campaign was at an end.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

18. **Usipiorum**: this nation, called by Cæsar *Usipetes*, is placed by Tacitus (*Germania*, 32) on the right bank of the Rhine, in the neighborhood of Cologne. The body here mentioned probably

belonged to those troops that were posted on the west coast, opposite Ireland (Chap. XXIV.).

21. **manipulis**: three maniples, of two hundred men each, made a cohort; ten cohorts, a legion.

22. **liburnicas**: swift galleys, called from the country Liburnia, where they were first used by the pirates who infested that coast.

23. **remigante**: *i.e.*, directing the oarsmen.

25. **ut miraculum praevehebantur**: they sailed around the north of Scotland, exciting amazement as they passed. — **Mox ad aquam**, etc. This is Kritz's reading, and perhaps the best emendation of a very corrupt passage. The manuscripts read *ad aqua atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque*. — **ad aquam**, *sc. egressi*: by **utilia** we should understand food and other necessities.

28. **eo inopiae**, *to that degree (thither) of want*.

31. **primum a Suevis**, etc.: *i.e.*, part by one and part by the others. The Frisians occupied the northern part of what is now the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the adjoining coast of Germany. The Suevi lived for the most part in southern and central Germany; but they may have come to the sea on predatory expeditions by the Rhine and other rivers.

32. **fuere quos**: we should expect the subjunctive after a relative with indefinite antecedent; but this phrase seems to have acquired somewhat the force of an indefinite = **quosdam**: *cf.* Horace, *Odes*, i. 1, 3, *sunt quos . . . juvat*.

33. **in nostram ripam**: *i.e.*, the left bank of the Rhine, which was in possession of the Romans. — **mutatione ementium**: *i.e.*, by passing from hand to hand.

34. **casus**, *adventure*.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

17. 3. **ambitiose**, *with ostentatious self-control*.

8. **ad montem Graupium**: this passage has a curious story. The manuscript reading is that given here; but the earliest editions, by an error of the editor, read *Grampium*, and the Scotch antiquaries naturally busied themselves to find some hill with a modern name which might have been derived from this. There was none; therefore searching for some locality where the battle might naturally have been fought, they pitched upon the great mountain range north of Perth, and gave it the name *Grampian Mount*, which it has continued to bear to the present day. See Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol I., p. 16. The name, however, is no older than the

fifteenth century. As to the locality, it is plain from the expression **praemissa classe**, etc., that the scene of the battle was near the sea-shore. At any rate, it is far from likely that Agricola reached a point so far north as the Grampian Hills; and moreover the battle would not receive its name from a great range of mountains, but from some moderate hill which the enemy had invested, — **quem hostis jam insederat**.

10. **pugnae prioris**: *i.e.*, of the former year; Chap. XXVI.

15. **cruda ac viridis senectus**: this phrase is taken from Vergil, *Æn.* vi. 304.

16. **decora**, *badges of honor*.

## CHAPTER XXX.

21. **animus**, *confidence*.

23. **nullae ultra terrae**: *i.e.*, for refuge.

28. **in nostris manibus**: contrasted with those Britons by whom in the previous battles **certatum est**.

29. **eoque**: this is the manuscript reading, which has been altered into **iique**, on the ground that their nobility was no reason for their occupying the *penetralia* of Britain. But if we consider **nobilissimi** to be used in its primitive sense, as relating to birth, we shall see that the *purest born*, the *autochthons*, would naturally be in **ipsis penetralibus siti**.

30. **servientium**: *i.e.*, the Gauls, who were subject to Rome.

32. **terrarum ac libertatis extremos**: one of Tacitus' nervous expressions, — *the remotest on the earth, and the last refuge of freedom*. For the nationality of the Caledonians, see note on Chap. XI.

33. **sinus famae**: this figure is taken from the *sinus* or pouch made by a fold in the toga, and is best explained as meaning the *obscurity of their fame*; **recessus ac sinus** may be regarded as a kind of hendiadys, — the obscurity of fame resulting from distance.

34. **Atque omne ignotum**, etc.: as long as we were unknown, we were dreaded. But now that we are reached, this dread can no longer exist, for there is no other nation beyond us, which can take our place.

18. 3. **defuere terrae**: they have no more lands to conquer.

8. **imperium** is to be joined with **appellant**; this sentence is a powerful example of Tacitus' sententious eloquence, as indeed is the whole speech of Calgacus.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

12. **amicorum atque hospitum**: that is, in peace, in the organized province.

13. **Bona fortunaeque**: the manuscript reading is quite unintelligible; **bona fortunae quae in tributum aggerat annus in frumentum . . . conterunt**. The emended reading here given appears to be the best. **Annus** is used for the yearly produce; see *Germania*, Chap. 14.

15. **emuniendis**, *constructing roads through*. The Roman military roads were constructed with such solidity that they were like a fortification, and the word regularly used for making roads was **munire viam**.

16. **mancipia**: this word, meaning originally a formal method of purchase, and then applied to the objects conveyed by this formality, was in later times used especially for slaves. — **semel**, *only once*.

17. **ultro**, *over and above, in addition*.

18. **familia**: *i.e.*, of slaves; a common use of the word.

21. **nobis**: *i.e.*, as compared with the rest of the Britons, — they are subdued for purposes of gain, we for destruction.

26. **Brigantes**: see Chap. XVI. Boadicea was queen of the Trinobantes; Calgacus, however, mentions the Brigantes of Northern Britain, probably as being better known to the Caledonians.

29. **libertatem**: the manuscripts have **in libertatem**. By this expression he means that the Caledonians will not sink into supineness, **socordia**, as the Britons had done; **paenitentiam** means “change of purpose.”

## CHAPTER XXXII.

19. 2. **puDET dictu**: a very rare construction.

4. **hostes**: in apposition with **Gallos** etc.

10. **alia**: *i.e.*, some other than Rome. The Romans had large numbers of barbarians as auxiliaries in their armies.

11. **ignota omnia**: in apposition with **caelum** etc.

15. **nostras manus**: *i.e.*, they will desert to us.

17. **tamquam** = **quemadmodum** (*tam quam, so as*).

18. **ultra**: *i.e.*, if we gain this victory.

19. **senum**: predicate, — *the colonies are composed of old men*. The only genuine colony in Britain was Camulodunum (Colchester); Londinium and Verulamium (St. Albans) were *municipia*.



These two classes of towns differed in their origin: colonies were founded by Rome, *municipia* were native towns invested with Roman citizenship. There was at this period no practical difference between them, but the colonies stood higher in rank.

21. **Hic dux**, etc.: the contrast (**hic** and **ibi**) is between the Caledonians and the enemy,—the leader and army whom they could trust, and the oppression and exactions which they must endure if they should lose.—**metalla**: labor in the mines was a common form of servitude.

# CHAPTER XXXIII.

26. **moris**, *sc. est*: a genitive of possession.

27. **cantu**, the war-shout of all barbarous nations.

29. **acies**, *sc. Britannorum*: the Romans were still in their entrenchments; see Chap. XXXV.

31. **adhuc** = **insuper**.

32. **Octavus annus**: it was really the seventh year, as Agricola came in 78. He reckoned probably from his consulship (*Freund*).

33. **auspiciis imperii**: the auspices, without which no important enterprise was undertaken, were, in the Republic, taken by the magistrate, and were his auspices; they were now the auspices of the empire or the emperor.

20. 1. **rerum naturam**, *Nature*.

2. **egressi**: agrees with **ego** and **vos**.

12. **in frontem**, *as long as we are advancing*.—**fugientibus**, *if we should retreat*.

14. **Neque enim**, etc.: that is, in case of their retreat,—the comparison is with the pursuing Caledonians.

16. **mihi decretum est**, *my mind has been made up*.

# CHAPTER XXXIV.

21. **novae gentes**: *i.e.*, the enemy.

24. **proximo anno**: see Chap. XXVI.

27. **penetrantibus**, *sc. nobis*. The early editors understood this to be general,—*those who penetrate*,—and therefore changed **pellebantur** into **pelluntur**. It is better understood to refer to the northward march just accomplished.

32. **novissimae res**, etc.: the straits they are in, and their bodies in the extremity of fear.

34. **Transigite**, *have done*.

35. **quinquaginta annis**: this was really the forty-second year since Claudius began the conquest of Britain; see Chap. XIII.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

21. 5. **discursum**. Notice the distributive force of the prefix: they were gathered to listen to his address, and then ran apart.

6. **peditum**: a partitive genitive, — *the auxiliary infantry*.

7. **firmarent**: formed a firm body, *composed*.

9. **citra Romanum sanguinem**: *i.e.*, if Roman blood should not be shed. The brunt of the battle was thrown on the auxiliaries, and the legions, which were composed of Roman troops, were held in reserve. — **bellandi**, as well as **victoriae**, limits **decus**.

10. **PELLERENTUR**, *sc. auxilia*.

12. **aequo**, *on the level ground*.

13. **media campi**: *i.e.*, between the front lines of the two armies. — **covinnarius**: these were the war-chariots, described by Cæsar (*B. G.* iv. 24, 33) as **essedarii**. The word **et** is not found in the manuscripts, but seems necessary, as Cæsar constantly distinguishes the war-chariots from the cavalry of the Britons (see *B. G.* v. 15).

17. **porrectior**, *too extended*. — **futura erat**, *would be*: *i.e.*, as a result of this action.

19. **ante vexilla**: see note to Chap. XVIII. Agricola stood on foot in front of the standards.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

22. **gladiis** and **cetris**, ablative of instrument: explained by some as ablative of characteristic (*being armed with*, etc.).

25. **Batavorum**, etc.: these tribes lived in the Roman province of Lower Germany, — the Batavians at the mouth of the Rhine, the Tungri in Belgium (Tongern). — **duas**, *sc. cohortes*.

27. **quod**: *i.e.*, this style of fighting.

30. **in arto**: the manuscripts read **in aperto**; but a fight in open ground was just what the claymores of the Caledonians were fit for.

32. **qui in aequo astiterant**: **qui** relates to **iis** understood, used absolutely with **stratis**; these were the **primum agmen** (Chap. XXXV.).

33. **ceterae cohortes**: *i.e.*, of the auxiliaries. Tacitus regularly uses this term for auxiliary troops in contrast with the Roman legionaries.

35. **equitum turmae**: **turma** is the term regularly used for a division of Roman cavalry. It is used also, however, as a general term for the cavalry of other nations, and is to be understood here of the Caledonians. Agricola's cavalry, consisting of auxiliaries, is spoken of in the next chapter as **alae**, the regular expression for auxiliary cavalry.

22. 2. **recentem terrorem**, etc.: the war-chariots at first caused some confusion among the assaulting party (the Romans), but soon became useless on the hilly ground, and mixed in with the thick ranks of their own countrymen; **hostium** must, from Tacitus' point of view, be the Caledonians.

4. **minime equestris**: the ground not being suited to horses, this battle of the war-chariots, which would properly be ranked with cavalry engagements, became **minime equestris**. The same expression, **minime equestris more pugnae**, is used by Livy (xxii. 47) with reference to the battle of Cannæ, where, as here, the horse became useless from the closeness of the action and the nature of the ground.

5. **aegre clivo astantes**: the manuscripts read **egra diu aut stante**; manifestly corrupt. Kritz reads **clivo instantes**; Halm and Draeger, **adstantes**. It will be noted that in the round hand of the manuscripts **cliv** could be easily mistaken for **diu**. This appears to refer to the Caledonians; while the following indicative clause, **ac saepe...incursabant**, describes both parties. In this difficult passage, Kritz (following Wex) reads **aequa nostris** for **equestres** of the manuscripts, and **instantes** for **aut stante**, making the confusion refer to the Romans. It is evident, however, from the following chapter, **circumire terga vincentium**, that the Romans were successful so far, and were making their way triumphantly up the hill. The events of the battle had been as follows: first, the skirmishing **eminus**; next, the assault made by the Batavians and Tungrians; third, the joining of the war-chariots in the battle, after the cavalry had been routed (**Interim . . . haerebant**). Then follows a description of the mixed nature of the battle (**minimeque . . . impellerentur**), and the confusion caused by the frightened horses (**ac saepe...incursabant**).

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

9. **qui adhuc**: this clause is restrictive, — *those Britons who*, etc.

10. **vacui**, *sc.* **cura**.

13. **equitum alas**: the auxiliary cavalry were always divided into **alae**: these stood, as has been seen, in Agricola's front line.

16. **a fronte**, etc.: *i.e.*, the **alae equitum** having repulsed the Britons who were taking the Romans in the rear, were now transferred from the direct front, and came round by a circuit upon the backs of the enemy, **aversam aciem invasere**; in this way the strategy of the Britons was turned against themselves, **consilium in ipsos versum**.

19. **oblatis aliis**: after taking prisoners, **capere**, they fell in with others of the enemy, and, not being able to keep both in security, slaughtered the first.

21. **armatorum** is contrasted with **inermes**, **catervae** to **pau-  
cioribus**.

25. **gnari**: the manuscripts have **ignari**, which must be corrected either to **gnari** or **ignaros**; **gnari** seems better, as being joined with **collecti**. — **frequens ubique**, *everywhere present*.

27. **validas**, etc.: fresh cohorts, probably of auxiliaries. — **indaginis modo**: the method of hunting by surrounding the woods with dogs, nets, &c.; a figure frequently used by the historians.

28. **artiora**, *sc.* **loca**: it is contrasted with **rariores silvas**, through which he sent the mounted cavalry. — **dimissis equis**, ablative absolute, or of quality (*dismounted*).

29. **persultare**: there is a kind of zeugma here. The word strictly applies only to the cavalry.

31. **compositos**, etc.: this refers to the fresh cohorts. As they marched up in good order the enemy fled, so that it was no longer necessary to carry out the orders just given.

33. **invicem**, *one another*.

23. 1. **praefectus cohortis**: *i.e.*, of auxiliaries. The legionary cohort was commanded by a **centurio primipilus**, — as we should call it, the senior centurion of the three maniples which composed the cohort.

2. **ferocia**, *unmanageableness*.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

8. **pignorum**, *pledges* of affection, — wives and children.

10. **saevisse in** = **occidisse**. — **tamquam misererentur**: **tamquam** appears to be used here as in Chap. XVI., **tamquam exo-**

**rabilior**, to express a real reason, — *on the ground that*. Some take it in its original sense, *as if*, and interpret their pity as a pretence.

12. **secreti**, *deserted*.

16. **spargi**, *protracted*.

20. **lento itinere**, *after a slow march*.

23. **unde** qualifies **lecto**. The situation of this port is uncertain, but it was probably on the Frith of Forth, the point from which they had started. The fleet appears to have coasted the whole eastern shore, and then returned. This is the voyage of discovery referred to in Chap. X.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

26. **ut Domitiano**, etc.: compare **ut barbaris moris**, Chap. XXXIII.

28. **falsum triumphum**: Suetonius, a nearly contemporary writer, says (*Dom.* 7) that he fought a few battles, *varia proelia*; Cassius Dio, more than a century later, that he did not even see the enemy. No doubt it was a trifling campaign; nevertheless, it must have been a real one. We must remember that Tacitus was embittered against Domitian by his tyranny, and in especial by his subsequent treatment of his father-in-law. See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. vii., p. 82. This barren expedition of the emperor was in the same year (A.D. 84) as Agricola's brilliant victory.

34. **studia fori**, etc.: see Chap. II. As usual, **forum** refers to the bar, while by **civiles artes** is meant the practice of politics, especially in the senate.

24. 1. **imperatoriam virtutem**, *the proper excellence of an emperor*. He remembered, no doubt, that his own father, Vespasian, had been a mere governor of a province, and had been made emperor by his soldiers after exploits noways so brilliant as those of Agricola.

5. **Nam etiamtum**, etc.: he must at any rate remove him from his governorship and thus make him impotent.

## CHAPTER XL.

7. **triumphalia ornamenta**: **ornamenta** are the distinguishing insignia of some office or dignity, granted by the senate, as a special privilege to be borne upon state occasions by persons who

have not held the office or dignity itself. As, under the empire, the honor of a triumph was restricted to the emperor, private citizens could only have the **ornamenta triumphalia**; and of these the most important—the laurel crown, the sceptre, the gilded throne—were confined to the emperor. The **ornamenta** granted to Agricola could, therefore, have been hardly more than the **toga praetexta**. (Mommson, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i., p. 378.)

12. **majoribus**: Syria was an imperial province of the first rank, governed by a *legatus consularis*, in this ranking with Britain and a number of others; but it ranked as the most important province in a military point of view, being on the frontier opposed to the great rival empire of Parthia. — **Credidere plerique**, *it was generally believed*. — **libertum**: freed slaves still continued in the service of their former masters, and in close personal relation to them, like that of client to patron. Emperors of the type of Nero and Domitian made use of their freedmen, cunning and unscrupulous fellows, as agents in all confidential affairs; and some of these freedmen rose to great wealth and influence.

16. **freto Oceani**: the English Channel.

18. **ex ingenio principis**, *to suit the character of the prince*; construed with **fictum**, etc.

20. **celebritate**: this word does not seem to be used in its primitive sense, which is nearly synonymous with **frequentia**, but in the less common, although perfectly classical meaning of *distinction*.

24. **palatium**: this word is in its origin only another form of **Palatinus**, the hill of Rome upon which the earliest city was built. This hill was selected by Augustus for his residence; and his successors built splendid houses upon it. The name then was gradually transferred from the hill to the edifice, in which sense it has passed into the modern languages as *palace*. The name **Palatium** is derived from that of *Pales*, goddess of herds and flocks, upon whose festival, the *Palilia* (April 21), common tradition placed the founding of Rome. (Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 364.)

25. **grave inter otiosos**, *a source of apprehension in time of peace*.

30. **quaererent famam**, *asked what made him so famous*. — **interpretarentur** does not refer to answers to the questions, but to other strangers, — most asked, few understood without asking; the object is **eum** understood.

CHAPTER XLI.

35. **laudantes**, not **laudatores**, which would mean a person who made this a practice; the participle is strictly temporary, — *those who praise one*. This praise is sometimes understood as ironical, of secret enemies; it is better to understand it of the inopportune, although sincere, praise of injudicious friends; see **optimus quisque libertorum** below.

25. 5. **limite**: this word properly means a path left as a boundary between two estates; from this there is a natural transition to a boundary *line*. Under the empire it is used for a fortified frontier. — **ripa**: no doubt from what goes before, the banks of both Rhine and Danube were meant; the special reference is, however, to the Danube, where the Goths invaded the Roman provinces.

6. **possessione**, *sc. provinciarum*. — **damnis**, dative.

7. **omnis annus**, *the whole year*.

12. **optimus quisque**: these were the **laudantes** referred to above.

14. **deterioribus**, neuter.

16. **praeceps agebatur**: *i.e.*, to a glory which was his ruin.

CHAPTER XLII.

17. **proconsulatum Asiae et Africae**. In his previous commands, Aquitania and Britannia, Agricola had acted simply as *legatus* or deputy of the emperor, in administering provinces of which the emperor himself was in theory governor; it was now his time to become himself the governor, *proconsul*, of a senatorial province (see note, Chap. VII.). This office, in which the governor had, in theory, independent power, was superior in dignity to that of the imperial provinces, in which the governor was only a deputy; but it was inferior in effective power, because he exercised only civil authority. It was bestowed, as in the republic, on men who had held magistracies; Asia and Africa alone to those who had been consuls; the other nine to past praetors. But, whereas in the Republic they were given to the magistrates immediately upon leaving their office, under the empire there must be an interval of some years, — at this period generally thirteen years. (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., p. 405.) The office was held for only a year at a time. (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i., p. 234.)

Agricola was consul A.D. 77; and the thirteenth year after this would be 90, which was probably the year of the events narrated in this chapter.

18. **Civica**: he was proconsul of Asia, and was put to death by Domitian on a charge of treason. His fate might serve to Agricola as a warning, **consilium**, and to the tyrant as **exemplum**.

22. **laudare**: *i.e.*, the emissaries of Domitian.

28. **proconsuli consulari**, a *proconsul of consular rank*, as those of Asia and Africa: see note above. The manuscript reading is **proconsulari**; but this adjective could have no meaning here. The reading here given is that of Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, vol. i., p. 242, note 1. The amount of the **salarium** of the consular proconsul was one million sesterces, equal to about \$50,000.

34. **irrevocabilior**, *sc. ab ira*.

26. 2. **illicita**: *i.e.*, revolutionary acts.

5. **per abrupta sed**, etc.: *i.e.*, such violent or offensive acts as could do no good, except to exhibit their own spirit of resistance.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

7. **nobis**: *i.e.*, his family.

9. **aliud agens**: attending to something else, = *indifferent*.

10. **circulos**, "social circles," — in public (**per fora**) and private.

13. **nihil comperti**, *sc. esse*, "I dare affirm so much, — but no more."

16. **medicorum intimi**: there is generally thought to be here an insinuation that he was poisoned.

18. **per dispositos cursores**: Domitian was probably at some distance from the city, perhaps at his Alban villa, see Chap. XLV.

20. **prae se tulit**, *manifested*.

22. **coheredem**: *i.e.*, probably **ex dimidia parte**, that is, a share equal to that of both the others.

26. **nisi malum principem**: *i.e.*, in the fear that the bad ruler would declare the will invalid, and seize the whole, he bought him off by the bequest of half his fortune.



CHAPTER XLIV.

28. **Gaio Caesare**: this was the emperor Caligula; his third consulship was A.D. 40, that of Collega and Priscus was A.D. 93.

29. **quarto**: the manuscripts read VI<sup>o</sup>, which, as is easily seen, does not correspond to the dates of his birth and death. The mistake is one very easily made.

27. 1. **quantum ad gloriam, sc. attinet.**

3. **consulari**: this is the manuscript reading, which many change to **consularibus**. But he did not enjoy the **consularia ornamenta** (see note, Chap. XL.), but the consular dignity itself, and was therefore **consularis**.

6. **incolumi dignitate**: see in the next chapter, the indignities which followed soon after his death.

8. **sicuti . . . ita, although . . . yet.** The words **non licuit** are not found in the manuscripts.

10. **augurio votisque**: these words describe his sagacity in foreseeing the coming man, and the earnestness of his desires.

CHAPTER XLV.

15. **obsessam curiam**: this fact is not known from any other source.

16. **eadem strage**: *i.e.*, with one another.

18. **Carus Metius**: Metius, Messalinus, and Bæbius were notorious *delatores* or informers under Domitian. — **intra Albanam arcem**: *i.e.*, in a villa of Domitian, situated here, where he often summoned the Senate.

20. **nostrae manus = nos senatores.** — **Helvidium**: this was a son of Helvidius Priscus, mentioned in Chap. II.

21. **Maurici Rusticique**: these were two brothers belonging to the Julian gens. — **visus** is, by zeugma, subject of **perfudit** (= **perculit**).

23. **Senecio**: see Chap. II.

32. **ejus**: Tacitus passes here from address to narration.

28. 3. **ante quadriennium**: Tacitus was prætor A.D. 88, and appears to have left Rome the next year for some office in a province. He returned to Rome shortly after the death of Agricola.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

10. **domum tuam**, *thy household*: in apposition with **nos**.

13. **aemulatione**: the manuscripts read **militum** and **multum**: they also omit **quam** in the line above.

27. **fama rerum**: *i.e.*, history. **Fama** is ablative of means, or may perhaps be taken as governed by **in**.

GERMANY.



## INTRODUCTION.

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THIS treatise upon Germany, by the historian Tacitus, appears to have been written A.D. 98 : for in the thirty-seventh chapter he refers to this year, *ad alterum consulatum imperatoris Trajani*, in terms which imply that it was the year in which he was writing. It was produced, therefore, somewhat later than the *Life of Agricola*, which was composed at latest in January, 98 (see notes on *Agricola*, p. 33). Like this, it is a work almost unique in Roman literature, — a monograph upon the geography, institutions, and customs of a foreign people. Earlier authors, especially Cæsar and Pliny, had given much incidental information of this sort, and writers like Strabo and Mela had composed treatises upon general geography ; but this is the first and perhaps the only special treatise of this class in Roman literature.

The book is divided into two parts of nearly equal length, separated by the twenty-seventh chapter. The first, after a general introduction, contains an account of the institutions and manner of life of the Germans ; the second, of their geography and tribes. In each we have the most complete account extant of the subject treated ; in each of these departments, therefore, the *Germania* of Tacitus stands as the first authority, supplemented and sometimes corrected by others, but seldom in any matter of the first importance. Brief as is the treatise, it is

wonderfully comprehensive and crowded with information. Moreover, Tacitus tells us by hint and allusion many facts which he does not state directly, — which he probably did not even know, and which we can only infer from comparison with the evidence of later institutions. Many of his statements, says Sohm, receive “their true commentary only through the later development.”

There has been much guessing as to the sources of Tacitus's information, but all that we can say is that he has left us absolutely in the dark as to these. But his statements are found so correct, wherever they are capable of being tested by comparison with other sources of information, that we may be sure he had good authority for what he wrote. A distinction must, however, be made. He is far more explicit and more accurate when treating of the nations of the west of Germany than in the other parts. Here his geography is definite and precise: it seems, moreover, quite certain that the institutions and modes of life which he describes are those of the western nations. This is only what we should expect. This part of Germany was familiar to the Romans from the wars of more than a century, and had indeed been for a considerable time in their military occupation. Probably we have a right to assume that Tacitus had visited this region in person, and that his description is founded largely upon direct observation. For the more distant regions he no doubt had to rely upon the uncertain and varying reports of traders and captives; we must, therefore, receive his account of these with some allowance. It should be noted, further, that, accurate and conscientious as is his work, it is in many parts very defective. It is the most complete account that we possess of the subject of which it treats, but is far from being complete according to the modern standard. In every

chapter one has occasion to wish that he had chosen to search more thoroughly, or at least to write more fully.

Another subject upon which much has been written is as to his motives in writing this book. It is often spoken of as primarily a satire upon Roman life. No doubt a writer of the keenness and earnestness of Tacitus could not fail to emphasize those parts of his subject which served to point a moral; and this intent—satirical if we choose to call it so—is very apparent in Chaps. XXIII.–XXVII. For the rest there seems no reason to hunt for a “motive” any more than in Wallace’s *Russia* or Schuyler’s *Turkestan*. He wrote the book because he was interested in the subject, and was well informed upon it, and had literary taste and power. The motive of patriotism—the “fear lest the continual assaults of these tribes should prove a permanent and insurmountable danger to Rome” (Cruttwell)—deserves more consideration. I cannot, however, see any very distinct and abundant traces of this, and can only regard it as a secondary motive.

My aim and method in preparing this edition have been totally different from those of the *Agricola*, as is proper in two books so different in scope and object. The *Life of Agricola* is essentially a literary work with a high ethical tone,—a book especially adapted to be *read* for enjoyment and moral inspiration: my commentary, therefore, was intended first of all to assist in intelligent reading, with only occasional elaboration of subjects of critical study. The value of the *Germania*, on the other hand, is chiefly in the information it contains, and it is full of controverted questions of extreme obscurity and perplexity. My notes, therefore, aim first of all to assist in solving these difficult problems. These are so many and so difficult that I have not taken pains to discuss, so fully as perhaps might

have been desirable, the lesser questions that came up incidentally in the course of the work. I feared to make the commentary too long, and have, therefore, in many such cases, simply presented my own view without noticing the views that I have rejected. Probably in these I have erred on the side of brevity, and perhaps in the more elaborate discussions I have erred on the side of fulness.

At the end of this Introduction I have given a list of the editions and treatises of which I have made use. I may say that I have drawn my material far more from formal treatises upon the geography and institutions of the ancient Germans than from the special editions of this work. I have long been convinced that the *Germania* should be approached from the point of view of modern historical investigation rather than of classical philology.

In conclusion, I will express my great obligations to Prof. TRACY PECK of Yale College, and to Mr. LUCIUS HERITAGE, Instructor in Latin in the University of Wisconsin, for corrections and suggestions which have saved me from some mistakes, and assisted me to some positive merits.

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN.

MADISON, WIS., July 14, 1881.



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# GERMANY.

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I. GERMANIA omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, 5 quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccessio ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobaе jugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum 10 mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiiis mistos, quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare 15 sedes quaerebant, et immensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relictæ, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectu- 20 que, nisi si patria sit?

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios assignant, e quorum nominibus 25

proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaeuvones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandilios affirmant, eaque vera et  
5 antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob me-  
10 tum, mox etiam a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur. III. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos,  
15 futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur. Terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies; nec tam voces illae quam virtutis concentus videntur. Affectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox percussu intumescat.  
20 Ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adjecto  
25 Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc exstare. Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est; ex ingenio suo quisque demat  
30 vel addat fidem.

iv. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem existisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum,  
35 quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus:

truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida; laboris atque operum non eadem patientia: minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inedia caelo solove assueverunt.

v. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda; humidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda; sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis; numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint dubito. Nec tamen affirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere; quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde afficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur, quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum, aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt. Interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

vi. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut majoribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas, gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli atque in immensum vibrant nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus jactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt. Paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea.

Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. Sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur; in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque misti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni juventute delectos ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus; centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincere, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt; effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt. Quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates, et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium: hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant. VIII. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas jam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et objectu pectorum et monstrata cominus captivitate,

quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

ix. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat; unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur; lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident. x. Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt; mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatis secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis

- comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides non solum apud plebem sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio
- 5 auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis cum qua bellum est captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt; victoria hujus vel illius pro praejudicio accipitur.
- 10 XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes, ita tamen ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut impletur;
- 15 nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant; sic constituunt, sic condicunt; nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut jussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies
- 20 cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turbae placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate
- 25 suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiant. Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare. XII. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum
- 30 ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt; ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude injecta insuper crate mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et leviori-
- 35 bus delictis pro modo poena. Equorum pecorumque



numero convicti multantur; pars multae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi qui vindicatur vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt. 5

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinquus scuto frameaque juvenem ornant. Haec apud 10 illos toga, hic primus juventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis assignant; ceteris robustioribus ac jam pridem probatis aggregantur, nec rubor inter comites 15 aspici. Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet judicio ejus quem sectantur; magnaue et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum juvenum 20 globo circumdari; in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella 25 profligant. XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae 30 ejus assignare praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. Si civitas in qua orti sunt longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies, 35

et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulae et quam-  
5 quam incompti largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt ; materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore acquirere quod possis  
10 sanguine parare.

xv. Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia ; ipsi hebent,  
15 mira diversitate naturae, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus  
20 subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis sed publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

xvi. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis  
25 notum est, ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis ; suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive  
30 inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus ; materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius illinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et  
35 subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo

onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt quod quaerenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, 5  
spina consertum; cetera intecti totos dies juxta focum  
atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguun-  
tur non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta  
et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles,  
proximi ripae negligenter, posteriores exquisitius, ut qui- 10  
bus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et  
detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque belua-  
rum quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit.  
Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae  
saepius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura vari- 15  
ant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non ex-  
tendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars  
pectoris patet.

XVIII. Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam  
morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli bar- 20  
barorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admo-  
dum paucis, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis  
nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori  
maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui, ac  
munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres 25  
quaesita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves  
et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque.  
In haec munera uxor accipitur, atque invicem ipsa  
armorum aliquid viro affert; hoc maximum vinculum,  
haec arcana sacra, hos conjugales deos arbitrantur. 30  
Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bel-  
lorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis  
admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam,  
idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque.  
Hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma 35

denuntiant ; sic vivendum, sic pereundum ; accipere se quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursus, quae ad nepotes referantur. xix. Ergo saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, 5 nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa. Accisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum 10 verbere agit. Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia ; non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque 15 uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum sed tamquam matrimonium ament. Numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex agnatis necare flagitium habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae 20 leges. xx. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis 25 deliciis dignoscas ; inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera juvenum Venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur ; eadem juvenita, similis proceritas : pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi 30 referunt.

Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmitus et 35 domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successores-

que sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patru, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo major affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia. **xxi.** Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant; luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta libertatem.

Convictibus et hospitibus non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatus epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. Nec interest; pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitis, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

**xxii.** Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt; separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae ut inter vinolentos rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et jungendis affinitatibus et asciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc

secreta pectoris licentia joci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. Postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est: deliberant dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt dum errare non possunt. xxiii.  
5 Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus; proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices; agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem tempe-  
10 rantia. Si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

xxiv. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est,  
15 inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem; non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem; quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent tanta lucrandi perdendive  
20 temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit; quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior, alligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos con-  
25 ditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant. xxv. Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem, descriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur; suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut  
30 colono injungit, et servus hactenus paret; cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum. Occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. Liberti non mul-  
35 tum supra servos sunt. Raro aliquod momentum in

domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur : ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt ; apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

xxvi. Fenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum, 5  
ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset.

Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur. Facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant ; arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec 10  
enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent ; sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species : hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent ; autumnus perinde nomen 15  
ac bona ignorantur.

xxvii. Funerum nulla ambitio ; id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibibus nec odoribus cumulant ; sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equis adicitur. Sepulcrum caespes erigit ; monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse. 20

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine 25  
ac moribus accepimus. Nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

xxviii. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Julius tradit ; eoque credibile est etiam 30  
Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas ? Igitur inter Hercy-

niam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boiheimi nomen, signatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci  
5 in Pannoniam ab Osis Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est; quia, pari olim inopia ac libertate, eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa  
10 affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colo-  
15 nia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

xxix. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Ba-  
20 tavi non multum ex ripa sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec  
25 publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus, et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum utraque veteres terminos im-  
30 perii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur.

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quam-  
35 quam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos qui



Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupare; mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

xxx. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis ut ceterae civitates in quas Germania patescit; durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et major animi vigor. Multum ut inter Germanos rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare; quodque rarissimum nec nisi ratione disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum. Rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere; velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est. xxxi. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cujusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus; jamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec

prima semper acies, visu nova ; nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura : prout ad quemque venire, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam  
5 durae virtuti impares faciat.

xxxii. Proximi Chattis certum jam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri, super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinae arte praeclunt ; nec major apud Chattos  
10 peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere majores, posterius imitantur ; hi lusus infantium, haec juvenum aemulatio, perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et jura successionum equi traduntur ; excipit filius non ut cetera maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello  
15 et melior.

xxxiii. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant : nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsus Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum, seu superbiae odio, seu praedae dulcedine,  
20 seu favore quodam erga nos deorum. Nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere ; super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium  
25 sui ; quando urgentibus imperii fatibus nihil jam praestare fortuna majus potest quam hostium discordiam.

xxxiv. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuarii cludunt, aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium ; utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur,  
30 ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa tentavimus. Et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama  
35 vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quicquid ubique mag-

nificum est in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso, Germanico; sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

xxxv. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus. In septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. 5  
Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. 10  
Id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod ut superiores agant non per injurias assequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama. 15

xxxvi. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illaccessiti nutrierunt. Idque jucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui 25  
olim boni aeque Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur; Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens; adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in secundis minores fuissent. 30

xxxvii. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. Veterisque famae lata vestigia manent utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. 35

Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consulibus. Ex quo si ad alterum Imperatoris Trajani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur; tam diu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatio multa invicem damna. Non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere; quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas.

Quid enim aliud nobis, quam caedem Crassi amisso et ipse Pacoro infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objecerit? At Germani, Carbone, et Cassio, et Scauro Aurelio, et Servilio Caepione, Cn. quoque Manlio fuis vel captis, quinque simul consulares exercitus Populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Julius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes Gaii Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, etiam Gallias affectavere; ac rursus pulsus, inde proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

xxxviii. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; majorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suevi vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere; sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum seu quod saepe accidit imitatione, rarum et intra juventae spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso solo vertice religant. Principes et ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formae, sed innoxiae: neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudinem quandam et

terrorem adituri bella compti ut hostium oculis ornantur.

xxxix. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et 5 prisca formidine sacram omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia; nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. Si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum; per humum 10 evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. Adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum; centum pagi iis habitantur, magnoque corpore 15 efficitur ut se Suevorum caput credant.

xl. Contra Longobardos paucitas nobilitat; plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones 20 et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo 25 vehiculum veste contextum. Attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intellegit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; 30 clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus 35

haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et haec quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur. Propior (ut, quo modo paulo  
5 ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar) Hermunduro-  
rum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non  
in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidis-  
sima Raetiae provinciae colonia. Passim et sine custode  
transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castra-  
10 que nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus  
non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur,  
flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Juxta Hermunduros Naristi, ac deinde Marco-  
mani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum glo-  
15 ria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsus olim Boiis  
virtute parta. Nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. Eaque  
Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur.  
Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam  
reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et  
20 Tudri genus. Jam et externos patiuntur, sed vis et  
potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro armis  
nostris, saepius pecunia juvantur, nec minus valent.

XLIII. Retro Marsigni, Gotini, Osi, Buri terga Marco-  
manorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marsigni  
25 et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt; Gotinos  
Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Ger-  
manos, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tributorum  
Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt. Go-  
tini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt. Omnes  
30 que hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et  
vertices montium jugumque insederunt. Dirimit enim  
scinditque Sueviam continuum montium jugum, ultra  
quod plurimae gentes agunt. Ex quibus latissime patet  
Lygiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valen-  
35 tissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Mani-

mos, Elysios, Nahanarvalos. Apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu; sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. Nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum: nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

Trans Lygios Gotones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano praeter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit. Nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi. Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosa porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt. Enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat

adeo clarus ut sidera hebetet ; sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque equorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adicit. Illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum natura.

Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Aestiorum gentes alluunter, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur ; insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus.

10 Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum comper-

15 tumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsis in nullo usu ; rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Sucum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucris animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata humore

20 mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim ; quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque

25 liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam sucini admoto igni tentes, in modum taedae accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et olentem ; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

30 Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur ; in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviae finis.

XLVI. Peucinatorum Venetorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam dubito, quam-



quam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum ; conubiis mistis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Veneti multum ex moribus traxerunt ; nam quicquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent ; quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas ; non arma, non equi, non penates ; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus ; sola in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit ; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur ; huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera jam fabulosa : Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere ; quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.



## NOTES.



## NOTES.

### *Argument.*

CHAP. I. Geography of Germany. — 2-4. Its people. — 5. The land. — 6. Military system. — 7, 8. Government. Influence of women. — 9, 10. Religion. — 11, 12. The public assembly. — 13-15. The chiefs and their followers. — 16. Dwellings. — 17. Dress. — 18, 19. Marriage. — 20. Inheritance. — 21. Hospitality. — 22, 23. Eating and drinking. — 24. Games of chance. — 25. Slaves. — 26. Agriculture. — 27. Funerals. — 28. Nationality. — 29. The Batavi. The Agri Decumates. — 30, 31. The Chatti. — 32. The Usipi and Tencteri. — 33, 34. Lesser tribes of the North. — 35. The Chauci. — 36. The Cherusci. — 37. The Cimbri. — 38-45. The Suevi. — 39. The Semnones. — 40. The Longobardi, etc. — 41. The Hermunduri. — 42. The Marcomani, etc. — 43. The Lygii, etc. — 44. The Suiones. — 45. The Æstii. — 46. The nations of the East.

NOTE. — In the grammatical references, *Gr.* stands for *Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar* (revised edition); *G.* for *Gildersleeve*; and *H.* for *Harkness*.

The manuscripts referred to are: *B.*, *Vaticanus*, 1862; *C.*, *Vaticanus*, 1518; *b.*, *Pontanus*; *c.*, *Neapolitanus*. *B.* and *b.* are generally regarded as of most weight, but Waitz has given strong reasons for preferring *C.* and *c.*

### CHAPTER I.

**1. 1. Germania omnis, Germany as a whole**, as in Cæs., *B. G.* i. 1, *omnis Gallia*. Here free Germany, the subject of Tacitus' treatise, is contrasted with the two Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, which were upon the left bank of the Rhine, and therefore a part of Gaul proper, although separated from Gaul for the purposes of administration.

It will be noticed that Germany in the time of Tacitus extended further to the east than at present, and not so far to the west and south. A few German tribes had got a foothold to the west of the Rhine, but this territory was mostly occupied by Celtic tribes. South of the Danube, embracing a large portion of Württemberg, Bavaria, and Austria, was also in the possession of Kelts, who had even held territories north of the Danube, where the Celtic nation of the Boii have left their name to the country Bohemia (see Chap. XXVIII.). The Germans, a conquering race, had thrust themselves into the narrow strip of land between the Rhine and the head-waters of the Danube, the modern Baden, and part of Württemberg and Hesse Darmstadt which had been formerly occupied by the Helvetii; but even here the Germans had been pushed back by the Romans, who held this territory under the name Decumates Agri (see Chap. XXIX.). On the other hand, it will be seen that in the east the Germans occupied a region which is now purely Slavonic.

**Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis:** the conjunction **que** appears to be used to connect the Danubian provinces with Gaul. The Gauls, Rætians, and Pannonians were the three nationalities inhabiting this series of provinces; the names of nations therefore are put for the provinces, Noricum not being yet fully organized as a province, and the two Germanies being included under the general denomination of Gaul, of which they geographically formed a part.

All these provinces were occupied by Kelts, although several German tribes had settled west of the Rhine. The Danubian provinces were of mixed nationality. The Rætians (this is the correct spelling) of the Alps appear to have been akin to the Etruscans, while the Vindelicians of the northern part of the province of Rætia, as well as the inhabitants of Noricum and Pannonia, were Kelts, but with a large admixture of an earlier population, probably of Illyrian race. (Kiepert.)

2. **Sarmātis Dacisque.** The Sarmatians of southern Russia were probably a Turanian tribe, perhaps Tartars; the Dacians of Transylvania and Roumania were a branch of the Thracian race. The Slavonian inhabitants of central and northern Russia are mentioned in Chap. XLVI.

3. **mutuo metu aut montibus:** the Carpathian mountains, running east and west, separate the Germans from the Dacians; north of these mountains great plains stretch to the Baltic, presenting no natural barrier between the Germans and Sarmatians. — **Oceanus:** a general term, here including the Baltic Sea.

4. **sinus, windings,** referring here to land rather than to water. See the *Agricola*, Chap. XXIII. — **insularum:** referring not only to the islands of the Baltic, but to the Scandinavian peninsula (see Chap. XLIV.), and possibly Jutland.

5. **nuper:** this must refer to the expeditions and conquests of Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Since these times it could not be said of any part of Germany, **bellum aperuit.** Moreover, although these expeditions were nearly a hundred years before, yet this could fairly be called *recent* in comparison with the whole history of the Romans, especially as they came after the great epoch of the civil wars and the establishment of the empire. — **gentibus ac regibus:** nations with and without kings.

7. **modico flexu:** the gradual bending of the Rhine towards the west. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

8. **versus:** a participle.

9. **Abnōbae:** now known as the *Black Forest* (*Schwarzwald*). This is not the reading of the manuscripts, but it is found in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iv. 79) and Ptolemy (ii. 11, 7), and is attested by in-

scriptions. This does not appear to be a genitive of possession, *the ridge of Mt. Abnoba*, but of apposition: Gr. § 214, *f*; G. § 359; H. § 396, V.

10. **plures populos**: *i.e.*, the Rætians, Noricans, Pannonians, Dacians, and Mœsians.

11. **sex meatibus**: at present the Danube has three principal mouths, but the northernmost of these is divided into nine or ten lesser channels. — **erumpat**: the subjunctive after **donec**, with no accessory notion of doubt or design, is characteristic of the late writers: Gr. § 328.

13. **Ipsos Germanos**: having spoken of the land, he passes to the inhabitants. — **minime**, *not at all*.

15. **nec terra olim**, etc.: the great migrations of early times — Phœnicians, Grecian colonies, etc., as well as the mythical migrations of the Pelasgians, of Æneas and Antenor — were by sea. Tacitus need not, however, have made this mistake if he had considered the settlements of the Gauls in northern Italy, and the great movement of the Cimbri and Teutones. — **advehebantur . . . quaerebant**: the tense implies a custom; the subject of **advehebantur** is the antecedent of **qui**.

16. **ultra**, *lying beyond*; **adversus**, *facing* from the opposite direction. He means that the ocean was not merely on the other side of Germany, but was approached only in that direction, so as to be impracticable for migrations from the known world, **ab orbe nostro**. The correct view, that the migrations took place by land, and from distant and unknown regions, was inconceivable to him.

19. **Asia**: *i.e.*, those parts of Asia which lie upon the Mediterranean.

20. **informem**, *shapeless*: *i.e.*, from lack of culture.

21. **nisi si patria sit**: this belongs not with **peteret** (which would require **esset**) but with the adjectives just used to describe the country — “uncouth, harsh, and gloomy to any but a native.”

22. **carminibus antiquis**: this passage proves a certain amount of historical tradition in the form of songs; it could not have been very extensive or trustworthy, however, else Tacitus would have made more use of it. The one specimen he gives us here has very little historical value.

23. **Tuistonem**: this god is not known from any other source. Holtzmann reads **Teutonem** (the reading of no manuscript), and considers him the eponym of the German race, *Teutsch*; if this were so, we should expect him to be the son rather than the father of

**Mannus, man.** Müllenhoff and others regard him as identical with the double-god, both male and female, of Scandinavian mythology.

## 2. 1. Ingævōnes, etc.:

This is an ethnological table similar to that in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and that by which the Greeks traced their descent to the three sons of Hellen; the Italians do not appear to have personified their several races in the form of eponymous ancestors. The division here given is not exhaustive. Tacitus goes on (l. 3) to speak of other alleged branches, and Pliny (*H. N.* iv. 99) adds the Vandili and Peucini to the three here given. This threefold division is supported by an interesting list of nations found in a medieval manuscript (see Holtzmann, p. 101), and may be accepted as correct, so far as it goes. The Ingævōnes correspond in general to the Saxons of North Germany, the Istævōnes to the Franks of the west, and the Herminōnes to the Thuringians of the centre. (Kiepert, § 468; where the Suevi are regarded as not belonging to either of these divisions). The names of the three sons of Mannus, according to Grimm, must have been Ingo, Isco, and Hermino. It is to be noticed, as showing the small practical value of this classification, that Tacitus does not allude to it again when he takes up the nations in order.

3. **deo**: *i.e.*, Mannus, who, although not a god, is yet called son of a god. Some (as Schweizer-Sidler) interpret this as meaning *a* god — “several of divine origin;” — but **plures natos** seems to be a continuation of **tris filios assignant**; and, moreover, the interpretation in question would destroy the unity of the race, by having it descended from different eponyms. — **Marsos**, etc.: the Marsi lived in northern Germany, and would naturally be classed among the Ingævones; the Gambrivii are not known from any other source, but are conjectured to have been the *Sugambri*, from the identity of the radical syllable; the Suevi are spoken of at length both by Tacitus (Chap. XXXVIII.) and Cæsar; the Vandili (the Vandals of history) are not mentioned elsewhere by Tacitus, but are one of the five great divisions given by Pliny.

5. **Ceterum** introduces a contrast between the ancient and genuine names mentioned above, and the recent and artificial name *Germany*. The same contrast is expressed in the words **nationis nomen non gentis**. *Germany* was at first the name not of the race, but of a single nation, or rather group of nations (Eburōnes, Condrūsi, Caeroesi, Paemāni), who led in the invasion of Gaul, and whose national name prevailed, **evaluisse**, as the name of the race.

The infinitives and subjunctives of the rest of this chapter show that Tacitus is not speaking from his own knowledge, but is quoting the opinion of others. The contrast is directly with **vera...nomina**, which would seem to make this statement a part of **quidam affirmant**; it is probable, however, that it is the united testimony, not only of the **carmina**, but of the Germans themselves; they would of course know, just as the *Welsh* and *Germans* of the present day, that the name by which they were familiarly known was not their real name. The passage is a difficult one to explain, but it will be



noted that the difficulties all lie in the passage **a victore ob metum**. Omit this, and we have the simple statement that the name *Germani* was borne originally by the nation now (that is, in Tacitus' time) known as *Tungri*, and was extended from them to the whole race, by whom the name was accepted. That is, Tacitus testifies that the name first belonged to a single nation of the Germans; and this statement is confirmed by Cæsar (*B. G.* ii. 4), who says explicitly that the Condrusi, Eburones, Caeroesi, and Paemani *uno nomine Germani appellantur*. Now the chief town of the Eburones was Aduatuca (*B. G.* vi. 32), known later as Aduatuca Tungrorum, the modern Tongres. It needs no further proof that these four petty nations, united probably in a confederacy as *Germani*, were the original bearers of this name; it may be conjectured that their later name *Tungri* was assumed when their original name had been extended to the race. A similar instance of the special name of the first invaders being extended to their kindred is found in the Saxons who invaded Britain: being first known to the native Britons, their name was given also to the Angles who followed them. No satisfactory etymology has ever been found for the word *Germani*; but if it was originally only the name of a single nation, like Ubii and Chatti, this is not surprising.

### 9. a victore ob metum:

In these words lie the chief difficulty of the passage. There are two questions: who was *the victor*? and what is meant by **ob metum**? As it has just been said that the original *Germani* (the later *Tungri*) crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, it would seem obvious that it is they that are intended by the word *victor*; in that case **ob metum** must mean *to inspire fear*. The victorious *Germani* gave it out that they were but a part of their race—that the rest were to follow; and the name thus bestowed upon the rest of the Germans, **omnes**, in order to inspire the Gauls with terror, **ob metum**, was readily assumed by the rest, **a se ipsis**, the name having once become current, **invento nomine**. This is the explanation given by most editors, although they regard the name as Celtic ("shouters"), and so consider the terror to lie largely in the signification of the name; and some editors, in order to make this more prominent, change **victore** to **victis**—that the name was given by the Gauls. If it is a Celtic word, it is hard to see how it could have been given by any but the conquered party. Holtzmann thinks that **victor** is Julius Cæsar—the conqueror *κατ' ἐξοχήν*—and that the **metum** is that described as seizing his troops just before the war with Ariovistus (*B. G.* i. 39),—"in their terror they called these *the genuine ones* (sc. Kelts)," *i.e.*, *germani*. This view is necessarily connected with Holtzmann's theory that Germans and Kelts were identical; it is sufficiently refuted by the fact that the name was known before the time of Cæsar,—at least Cæsar constantly assumes the name as being a familiar one, even in his very first chapter. It may be added that if the terror were inspired by the *meaning* of the name in the Gallic tongue, Tacitus could hardly have avoided explaining why it should inspire terror.

## CHAPTER III.

11. **et Herculem**: the wanderings of Hercules stand in these songs in connection with the old genealogies. His wanderings are referred to again in Chap. XXXIV., and he is mentioned as a god in Chap. IX.—**memorant**: this verb continues the statements of **celebrant**, **assignant**, and **affirmant**, in the previous chapter, in giving the contents of the **antiqua carmina**.

12. **primum**: *i.e.*, the greatest.

13. **Sunt illis**: from this to **intumescat** is a digression, sug-

gested by the word **canunt**; with **ceterum** the main subject is resumed. The songs already described are narrative and mythical; **haec carmina** are war songs. — **haec = talia**.

14. **barditum**: this word is probably derived from *bardi*, "shield"; some derive it from *bere*, "clamor"; some would connect it with the Keltic *bard*.

16. **sonuit** has **acies** for its subject: some would supply **barditus**, and connect **acies** by synesis with **trepidant terrentve**.

17. **concentus, concord**: the concord appears to be more in the spirit than the sound.

18. **objectis ad os scutis**: probably like the sound made by boys, by placing their hands before their mouths, and rapidly taking them away and replacing them.

20. **Ceterum, moreover**. — **quidam**: this would seem to refer, not to the Germans, but to Roman writers.

21. **illo, well-known**. — **in hunc Oceanum**: the North Sea.

22. **Asciburgium**: this town is mentioned again by Tacitus (*Hist.* iv. 33), and is represented by Asberg, a few miles from Düsseldorf in Rhenish Prussia, where some remains have been found in modern times.

24. **Ulixi**: this may be the dative of the agent, but is probably to be taken as a true dative. The altar was consecrated by the companions of Ulysses. Tacitus would have been likely to avoid the ambiguity of the dative of agency. As for the statements in this paragraph, it is not necessary for us to sift them. Tacitus himself says below: *neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est*.

26. **Graecis litteris**: it appears from Cæsar, *B. G.* i. 29, that these were in use by the Helvetians, and they may easily have been known throughout southern Germany. The earlier home of the Helvetians was almost **in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque**.

## CHAPTER IV.

32. **aliis**: this word is rejected by some editors as being pleonastic, but appears to be used for the sake of emphasis.

3. 1. **truces et caerulei oculi**, etc.: this description would also apply to the Gauls, and Tacitus himself says (*Agricola*, Chap. XI.), that the inhabitants of Caledonia had **rutilae comae, magni artus**. So the modern Highlanders. **Rutilae** is not red, but red-

dish-yellow, auburn. The want of persistency in fight is also testified to by Cæsar as to the Gauls (*B. G.* iii. 19): *ut ad bella suscipienda alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens est.*

## CHAPTER V.

7. **Gallias . . . Noricum ac Pannoniam**: he mentions only those parts of Germany which were directly accessible from the empire; not that the part towards Gaul is wholly wet, but that it is here, on the lower Rhine, that the swamps are found.

8. **satis**, probably ablative: the three branches of production, growing crops, fruits, and cattle, are mentioned.

9. **improcera, sc. sunt pecora.**

10. **suus**, *that belongs to them.* **Honor** is to be explained as meaning *beauty* or *size*, and **gloria frontis** as referring to the horns — not that they had no horns, but short ones; the cattle of Italy are to this day distinguished for their size, length of horn, and beauty.

11. **solae et gratissimae opes**: this indicates that the Germans had not yet passed wholly out of the pastoral stage.

15. **haud perinde: i.e., ac alii populi.**

18. **proximi, sc. ripae Rheni.**

19. **formas** would seem to mean the device upon the coin.

21. **permutatione mercium, barter**: another proof of the early stage of social development in which the Germans were at this time.

22. **diu notam**: all uncivilized nations are suspicious of new varieties of coin. English sovereigns will circulate at the present day where other gold pieces of the same value would be rejected. The coins here mentioned were common towards the close of the Roman Republic: the **serrati** had toothed edges; the **bigati** the stamp of a biga, or two-horse chariot.

25. **facilior, more convenient.**

## CHAPTER VI.

26. **superest, is in abundance or superfluity**: they were not yet fully in the iron age, and therefore made little use of those weapons (sword and lance) which required much iron.

27. **lanceis**: the **lancea** had a broad iron; the **hasta** or **framea**, a narrow one.

32. **spargunt**: a poetical expression, used by Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 51

33. in **immensum** refers to the distance. — **nudi**: not *naked*, but without outer garment; just so Cincinnatus was ploughing, **nudus** (Plin. xviii. 3, 20), when word was brought him that he had been appointed dictator; then *togam e tugurio proferre uxorem jubet* (Liv. iii. 26). Vergil too directs the husbandman *nudus ara, sere nudus* (*Georg.* i. 299). The **sagum** of the Romans (**sagulum**, to denote its commonness) was a military cloak, worn like the toga, over the tunic. This passage therefore means that they fight either in the tunic alone, or with a cloak worn so lightly as not to encumber them. See Chap. XVII.: **tegumen omnibus sagum**.

34. **cultus** refers of course to military equipment. — **scuta** . . . **distinguunt**: e.g., the Harii (Chap. XLIII.) had **nigra scuta**. So Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 14) speaks of the shields of the Germans as *fucatas colore tabulas*. This is probably the origin of the medieval custom of distinguishing the shield by special devices.

35. **cassis**, of metal; **galea**, of leather.

4. 2. **variare gyros** refers to complicated manœuvres of cavalry, in which the course was shifted from one direction to another, like the figure 8; in their exercises the Germans use only simple movements. The movement here described is to be understood as a military exercise merely, not an evolution in battle; it is explained by some as wheeling, but the expression **conjuncto orbe** can hardly mean anything but riding about in a closed circle, at such equal intervals, **ut nemo posterior sit**.

4. In **universum aestimanti**, *judging them on the whole*; see *Agricola*, Chap. XI.

5. **misti**: Cæsar also (*B. G.* i. 48) describes this German practice of combining infantry with cavalry. According to him, they were in equal numbers, each cavalryman picking out his own companion: *equitum milia sex, totidem numero pedites . . . quos singuli singulos . . . delegerant: cum his in proeliis versabantur. Ad eos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant*. He also speaks of their speed: *tanta erat . . . celeritas, ut júbis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent*.

7. **Definitur et numerus**, etc.: this passage probably has reference to the composition of the army, not to that of the mixed force just described; that is, is to be connected with the passage that follows rather than that which precedes. Tacitus says positively, that the “hundred” here described had no numerical value, was merely a name — **quod prius numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est**.

It is well known that the subdivisions of the Germans, as well of the people as of the territory, were called "hundreds," and that this word had ceased to have any meaning in its original sense before the beginning of authentic history. In all probability Tacitus, both here and in Chap. XII. (p. 7, l. 4), refers to these historical divisions, but without recognizing the fact in the latter case that the name was nothing but a name. See Waitz, p. 219.

10. **per cuneos**: this old Germanic order of battle, called "Boarshead," is described by Saxo Grammaticus, as composed of two men in the first line, four in the second, and so on.

12. **quam formidinis, sc. potius**.

14. **concilium**: the public assembly of all freemen, described in Chaps. XI. and XII.

## CHAPTER VII.

17. **Reges ex nobilitate**, etc.: it is seen, from other passages in the *Germania*, that not all the German nations had kings. It would appear that the natives of the east and north, with most of the Suevi, — probably, therefore, more than half of the whole race, — were governed by kings, while the republican nations were mostly in the west and northwest, for which reason they were better known to the Romans. Cæsar, indeed, says explicitly (*B. G. vi. 23*), that the Germans of his acquaintance had no chief magistrate: *in pace nullus est communis magistratus*.

22. **sacerdotibus**: Cæsar (*B. G. vi. 21*) says, that the Germans have no druids, *neque sacrificiis student*. It appears clearly, however, from several passages in Tacitus, that the Germans had priests and sacred rites. No doubt, therefore, Cæsar only means to contrast the excessive superstition of the Gauls and the power of their priesthood with the simpler and more rational religious system of the Germans. The word is "*student*," which implies devotion.

24. **effigies et signa**: not **simulacra**, *idols* in human form. The **effigies** were symbolic images, generally in the form of animals, as the wolf of Odin, the ram of Tiu; the **signa** were attributes like the hammer of Thor. (Schweizer-Sidler.) Tacitus says, in the revolt of Civilis (*Hist. iv. 22*): *inde depromptæ silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire bellum mos est*, a passage which evidently describes the same custom as that here mentioned.

27. **cuneum**: here a *division of infantry*, as **turma** is a division of cavalry. — **familiae et propinquitates**: Cæsar says (*B. G. vi. 22*), that the assignments of land were *gentibus cognationibusque hominum*. From the two passages, it appears that the divisions of land and military divisions were alike founded upon kinship.

28. **pignora**: *i.e.*, wives and children.  
 29. **audiri**: historical infinitive.  
 31. **exigere**, *examine carefully*: a late use of the word.

## CHAPTER VIII.

35. **objectu pectorum**: *i.e.*, by exposing themselves to the perils of the battle; *e.g.*, in the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, B.C. 101.

5. 4. **Inesse**, *sc. feminis*. — **providum**, *prophetic*.

6. **Velëdam**: Tacitus tells of her in the fourth and fifth books of his Histories, in the revolt of Civilis. His description of her authority (iv. 61) illustrates the present passage: *ea virgo nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas*.

7. **Auriniam**: nothing is known of this woman from any other source. Most editions read, by conjecture, **Albrunam**.

8. **nec tamquam**, etc.: *i.e.*, they were not goddesses, but **sanc-tum aliquid inerat**.

## CHAPTER IX.

10. **Deorum**:

Tacitus seems here to contradict Cæsar, who says (*B. G.* vi. 21) that the Germans had a pure nature worship, — *deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt*, — that is, sun, moon, and fire. They agree, however, on the whole. The chief of the German gods was Wuotan (Odin or Woden), who agrees with Mercury in being the inventor of letters, the god of eloquence, and the protector of traffic; the name *Wednesday* (Wodensday) is in French *Mercredi* (*dies Mercurii*). He was originally a sun-god, and is referred to by Cæsar as *Sol*. The next of the great gods was Donar (Thor) the thunderer, whose adventures resemble those of Hercules, and whose attribute, the hammer, reminds of Vulcan. As wielder of the thunderbolt he was more commonly identified with Jupiter, whence Thursday, in French *Jeudi* (*dies Jovis*). Mars is easily identified with Tiu or Tyr, — Tuesday is in French *Mardi* (*dies Martis*). This name is etymologically the same as *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, the god of the sky; perhaps he became god of war in virtue of the sun's rays, which are in many mythologies symbolized as arrows or lances. Isis cannot be positively identified. Tacitus calls her worship a foreign rite, **peregrinum sacrum**, and some have therefore conjectured that the worship of the Egyptian Isis, very wide-spread, and at this period the most fashionable religion in Rome, had in some way made its way to the Germans. It is more likely that the galley, which formed a part of the ceremonial, reminded Tacitus of the *remigium Isidis*, or Roman festival of March 5, on which day a procession took place to the seashore, and a ship filled with spices was sent out to sea. Probably she is to be identified with some native German goddess, very likely the Nerthus mentioned in Chap. XL. Possibly she is the same as Cæsar's *Luna*, but this is hardly likely, as Isis was a goddess of the earth, not of the moon. It may be noted that reminiscences of rites connected with a ship have been traced in modern times in some parts of Germany.

11. **humanis hostiis**: see Chap. XXXIX. The human sacrifices were not, however, confined to Odin. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

12. **concessis**, *such as are allowed*.

15. **docet advectam religionem**: *i.e.*, the ship is a symbol of foreign origin. As has been already said, it is more likely that the resemblance in rites suggested the identity with Isis.

16. **Ceterum**, etc: this simplicity of worship and freedom from idolatry is characteristic of the Aryan nations in their early history. So of the Romans Varro testifies: *plus quam annos centum et septuaginta deos sine simulacro coluisse*. Augustinus, *C. D.* iv. 31.

17. **ex magnitudine**, *consistent with the greatness*. This consideration of dignity is hardly likely to be the correct explanation; rather they did not feel the need and the impulse of giving definite shape to a spiritual being abstractly conceived, — *secretum quod sola reverentia vident*. Their gods, although not clothed with human form, were nevertheless distinctly personified and named.

## CHAPTER X.

20. **sortes**: Cæsar (*B. G.* i. 50) states the custom of the Germans to have been: *ut matres familiae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne*.

21. **ut qui maxime: observant** is to be understood with both subjects, — they observe them *as they do who observe them most*.

22. **frugiferae arbori**: oak, beech, or hazel, for the Germans had no orchards; see Chap. XXVI. The method here described was of course not the only one observed. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

23. **notis**: *i.e.*, runes.

25. **consultetur**: this is Halm's reading; the manuscripts have **consuletur**, but a future tense seems here wholly inadmissible.

26. **ter singulos**: *i.e.*, three times one at a time.

30. **adhuc, in addition**: *i.e.*, the sanction of the lot was not deemed complete unless confirmed by auspices. — **etiam hic**: *i.e.*, among the Germans. As is well known, this was the usual method of taking auspices among the Romans.

31. **proprium gentis**, *peculiar to the race*.

33. **iisdem nemoribus ac lucis**: *i.e.*, those mentioned in the last chapter.

35. **princeps**: see Chap. XI.

6. 2. **sed apud proceres**, etc.: some manuscripts and editors place **sed** after **proceres**, on the ground that **se** refers to the priests alone. But **proceres** refers to **rex vel princeps**, who accompanied the priest. The **proceres** were not identical with the **principes**, but included them. (Waitz, p. 240.)

4. **illos**: *i.e.*, the horses.

6. **quoquo** = **quovis**: as frequently in late writers.

## CHAPTER XI.

10. **principes**, *princes*, not *nobles*, which in Tacitus is **nobiles**.

The princes appear from the next chapter to be a kind of magistrates, exercising judicial functions, and the word is by some high authorities rendered *judges* (Sohm, *Altdeutsche Reichs und Gerichtsverfassung*). Cæsar also (*B. G.* vi. 23) says that they administered justice, and (*vi.* 22) joins them with magistrates, *magistratus ac principes*, as exercising public authority as rulers, not as forming a social class or nobility. From the present passage it appears also that they formed a governing board, administering all lesser affairs by their own authority, more important matters being determined by the **concillium** or assembly of citizens; these too, however, coming under the previous consideration of the princes. **Plebem** is used here not to designate the lower classes, but the people, as distinguished from the magistrates. It may be remarked that all special titles of nobility — prince, duke, earl, etc. — were in their origin magistracies.

13. **Coeunt** appears to have as its subject **omnes**, *i.e.*, the assemblies here described are those of the people, not of the princes. — **nisi quid**, etc.: from this it follows that the princes had authority to convene the assembly at irregular times.

14. **cum aut incohatur**, etc.: not, of course, every new and full moon, but on certain specified ones.

15. **auspicatissimum**: so Ariovistus (*Cæs.*, *B. G.* i. 50) was forbidden by his wise women to fight before the new moon.

16. **Nec dierum numerum**, etc.: this sentence has nothing to do with the institution under discussion, but is a casual remark suggested by the word **luna**. Following this usage, we say *fortnight*, *se'nnight*: compare also the German *Weihnacht*, Christmas. Formerly in New England the Sabbath was considered to begin and end at sunset; and the same reckoning is observed by the Jews and Mohammedans. So the Gauls; see *Cæs.*, *B. G.* vi. 18.

17. **constituunt . . . condicunt**: *they make their appointments and their agreements.*

19. **ut, when**; **et alter**, *even a second.*

20. **turbæ**: this is the reading of the manuscripts, and must mean "when the people are ready," **turba** being the confused crowd of people before they are called to order. Many editors



change **turbæ** to **turba**, which would throw the decision into the hands of the magistrates; this is perhaps, in itself, more probable, but there is no reason for emending the passage in order to get a less democratic interpretation of it.

21. **armati**: this is the usage with many early nations, and continues in practice in certain Swiss cantons; see Freeman, *Growth of the English Constitution*, p. 7. So among the Gauls, Livy, xxi. 20; Cæs., *B. G.* v. 56. — **Silentium per sacerdotes . . . imperatur**: so occasionally in Norway at a later day. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

22. **tum**, on these occasions; see Chap. VII., l. 22, where it is said that the authority to punish with death, imprisonment, or scourging, belongs only to the priests. — **princeps**:

It is debated whether this is *a* prince or *the* prince. Baumstark, who holds that republican states had a prince at their head (**princeps civitatis**, Chap. X.), as the monarchical states had a king, maintains that "a prince" would be some such expression as **principum aliquis** (Chap. XIII.). On the other hand, **audiuntur** points to more speakers than one, and the use of **cuique** indicates more princes than one, while the words **auctoritate . . . potestate** go to show that the speaking was entirely by official personages. Monarchical states as well as republican had **principes**, and it seems best to explain this passage as describing a debate carried on exclusively by magistrates, king (where there was one), and princes. That their influence was grounded upon age, nobility, military renown or eloquence, proves that the **nobilis** was not the same as the **princeps**.

26. **frameas concutiunt**: so the members of the Hungarian diet, A.D. 1741, when they shouted *moriemur pro rege nostro Maria Theresia*. Compare the statement of Cæsar about the Gauls: *suo more armis concrepat*, *B. G.* vii. 21.

## CHAPTER XII.

28. **accusare quoque**: the last chapter treats of the general power of the assembly, this of its judicial authority, from which it passes to the judicial authority of the magistrates, **principes**. The word **licet** implies that this was not its principal or regular power. **Quoque** has been explained as referring to the judicial authority of the **principes**, described at the end of the chapter, "the assembly as well as the princes." In this case, however, the exceptional usage would hardly stand first; moreover, **quoque** should follow **concilium**. It is better to refer back to the preceding chapter, "judicial as well as legislative power."

33. **illuc**, to the following point; **tamquam**, on the ground that.

34. **et levioribus delictis**: Holtzmann (p. 189) notices the fact, neglected, as he says, by writers on law, that Tacitus assigns the

punishment of death only to offences against the state, thus testifying to a high advance in political conceptions. The punishments which follow are of the nature of the *wergild* of later times, — a pecuniary penalty for bodily injuries, paid, part to the person injured or his kindred, part to the state.

35. **Equorum pecorumque**: an illustration of the familiar fact that early nations used cattle in place of money; *pecunia* from *pecus*.

7. 1. **pars multae**: the part of the wergild which was paid to the king (one-third of the whole) was called *fredus* (peace-money); that paid to the injured party *faidus* (feud-money).

3. **Eliguntur . . . principes**:

This passage is explained as meaning that the judicial magistrates of the several districts, **per pagos vicosque**, were elected, not by the residents of their districts, but by the assembly of the nation. Taken in connection with the opening words of Chap. II., **de minoribus rebus principes consultant**, we gather that these judicial officers of the several districts also served as executive magistrates of the nation in the intervals of the assembly, and as preparing business for the assembly. Cæsar (*B. G.* vi. 23) tells us precisely the same thing: *principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt controversiasque minuunt*. When he says *in pace nullus est communis magistratus*, *communis* must be taken to mean a single chief magistrate, or perhaps it may be that the Germans advanced in centralization of authority in the interval between Cæsar and Tacitus. The venerable Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 10) mentions *satrapas plurimos suae genti praepositos*, not specifying their executive and judicial functions, but implying that the former are the prominent ones. See also note on **Reges ex nobilitate**, etc., Chap. VII.

4. **per pagos vicosque**: the **pagi** were the districts over which the **principes** had authority; the **vici** are not to be taken as subdivisions, but rather refer in an indefinite way to the villages within these districts, in which the judicial assemblies would naturally be held. (Sohm.) — **reddunt**: the indicative shows that he is speaking of certain specified officers (*i.e.*, those mentioned in Chap. XI.) having taken these powers; the subjunctive might refer to a different set of officers now first mentioned. — **Centeni**: this expression is probably to be taken as referring to the *hundred*, which was the name of the **pagus** just described (see note on **centeni ex singulis pagis**, Chap. VI.). The popular court of the Hundred, presided over by the magistrate, was composed in later times of the entire body of the freemen; if this was the case in the time of Tacitus, it would be very easy for him to confuse the name of the district, meaning a hundred, with the members of the court, and to suppose that these were a hundred in number. Holtzmann shows (p. 189) that, in later times, *hunno* was the name of the assistants in the popular court.

5. **consilium simul et auctoritas**: in apposition with **comites**. The members of the court gave their judgment as to law and usage, and this had the force of a verdict. (Sohm, p. 6.)

### CHAPTER XIII.

7. **armati**: see note on **armati**, Chap. XI.

8. **moris, sc. est. — suffecturum, sc. eum armis**.

**Tum in ipso concilio**: the procedure here described is defined by Sohm (p. 544) as not the attainment of majority, but emancipation from the father's authority; after this was effected majority followed as a matter of course, — **ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicae**. The formality of emancipation consisted in the bestowal of a shield and lance, and the same formality was employed in adoption, in marriage of a daughter (see Chap. XVIII.), and in entering into the relation of **comes**. When the act was performed by a **propinquus**, it might establish the filial relation; but the German adoption did not, like the Roman, create the *patria potestas*, but only kinship with rights of inheritance. If the party performing the act was **principum aliquis**, the young man entered into the retinue, **comitatus**, of this chief, and became his man. This is the case which Tacitus now goes on to describe; the singular **principis** is used in the following sentence as referring back to the chief, whoever it was, **principum aliquis**, who invested the youth with his armor, and received him into his **comitatus**. Geffroi (p. 205) points out the contrast with Roman law, where emancipation from the *patria potestas* did not necessarily follow from majority as a citizen.

13. **principis dignationem**, *the favor of the prince: i.e., the one mentioned in l. 9.*

In this passage **dignationem** is usually taken as equivalent to **dignitatem** (the reading of *B.* and *b.*), and explained as meaning that *the rank of prince* is conferred by noble birth and the services of their fathers. In connection with this, **princeps** is interpreted as meaning *noble* rather than *magistrate*; as to which, it is enough to say that if the youth already possessed noble birth, **nobilitas**, the rank assigned him, that of **princeps**, must have been some personal authority. The meaning *rank* or *dignity* is not impossible, and would mean that the office of prince was easily attained by young men of noble or distinguished birth; in illustration of which Waitz (p. 284) notices the ease with which members of noble families in modern kingdoms obtain places in the army or civil service. The whole tenor of the passage, however, bears out the interpretation given above, and both **dignatio** and **assignare** are found with the signification here given; the active meaning is indeed the natural one for **dignatio**. Tacitus has just described the formality by which young men were received into the state as citizens, and goes on to speak of the personal relation of **comitatus**, into which they now entered with chiefs of distinction. The passage in question comes in naturally here as meaning: after they have received their shield and spear, they, according to their nobility or the reputation of their father, receive the favor of the prince, and are associated with his followers, older and more experienced men: **ceteris robustioribus ac jampridem probatis aggregantur**. This is the source of feudal vassalage.

15. **aggregantur** is used in a middle or reflexive sense. — **neo rubor**, etc.: the position of personal follower, standing in a relation of recognized dependence upon a man higher in rank, was confined, among the Romans, to the lower classes, for whom, in this

relation, the word *client* was used; Tacitus sometimes uses the word **clientes** to denote the **comites**. Naturally, therefore, it was a subject of remark that, among the Germans, this relation implied no indignity.

#### 18. **apud principem suum** :

It is a question whether the chiefs who were authorized to have a **comitatus** were the same as those who administered justice in the hundreds. If this whole passage is taken in connection, it will appear that they were the same. Mention has just been made (Chap. XII.) of the judicial **principes**; immediately it is said that **principum aliquis** bestowed his arms upon the youth; then, that if the youth was of noble or distinguished parentage, this honor was more readily attained by him. The honor—the relation of **comes**—is next described, and again reference is made to **principem suum**. Here the word is used five times in sixteen lines, and it seems impossible that it should not have been every time in the same sense. Cæsar seems to support the same view when (*B. G.* vi. 23), after mentioning the judicial **principes**, he goes on to speak of them as leaders in war: *ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit se ducem fore, qui sequi velint, profiteantur, consurgunt ii*, etc. The temporary relation described by Cæsar would easily grow into the permanent one described by Tacitus.

19. **Haec dignitas**, etc.: of course, of the **princeps**.

22. **cuique** follows **id nomen, ea gloria est**.

24. **expetuntur**: *i.e.*, the princes who have a distinguished train of followers.

26. **profligant**, *bring to an end*. Holtzmann translates it “prevent” (*verhindern*).

### CHAPTER XIV.

29. **principi** is dative after **superstitem**, which agrees with **comitem** understood. We have here a description of that personal relation between chief and follower which was developed into the similar relation between lord and vassal in the feudal system.

33. **torpeat**: this subjunctive **is** to be referred to the principles of general conditions (Gr. § 309). Gildersleeve would probably class it under Ideal Conditional Sentences, with a Universal Present in the Apodosis (§ 598; H. § 511, ii.).

8. 2. **tueare**: this is the reading of most manuscripts, including *C. c.* It is the second person singular of the subjunctive, referring to an indefinite subject, and practically equivalent to a passive, — *one maintains a retinue = a retinue is maintained*. — **Exigunt enim**, etc.: these were probably the gifts in virtue of which the young man entered into the relation of *comes* (Waitz, p. 376). This equipment of the warrior by his lord with arms which should revert to the lord on the death of the follower, is what was afterwards known as *heriot*.

4. **Nam epulae**, etc.: this is to explain that their sustenance was of the nature of pay for services, while the equipment was the condition upon which they entered into the service. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

5. **apparatus**: this may be taken as genitive of quality (**et = et quidem**); so in Livy, xxvii. 6, *ludos magnifici apparatus fecerunt*; or it may be a hendiadys with **epulae**, *abundant banquets*.

6. **Nec arare**, etc.: this statement applies to the *comites*, not necessarily to the Germans as a race. (Kritz.)

7. **annum**, *the fruits of the year*, as in *Agricola*, Chap. XXXI.

## CHAPTER XV.

The statements in this chapter apply directly to the chiefs and their followers, who have just been described; they must, nevertheless, be understood to be true also of the rest of the Germans in their leading features. (Waitz, p. 377.)

11. **non multum**: this seems inconsistent with Cæsar's statement (*B. G.* vi. 21), *vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit*. Is it not, however, consistent with what we know of the military class in barbarous nations? long seasons of idleness and gluttony, with occasional hunting expeditions. It is to be remembered that Tacitus does not speak here of the Germans as a race, but of the chiefs and their followers; moreover, that they were a partly agricultural people, with whom hunting was not a necessity of life, as with savage nations.

17. **Mos est civitatibus**, etc.: this is the beginning of taxation, voluntary contributions rendered by every man, **viritim**; for the process by which they became compulsory see Lodge's *Essay on Anglo-Saxon Land Law*, p. 62.

18. **armentorum**: this is a partitive genitive, depending upon an indefinite idea of part, such as is common in Greek; see Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, § 168, Note 2.

21. **publice = a gentibus**.

22. **et pecuniam**: this was nearer akin to direct bribery, which the Romans never scrupled to use in order to bring foreign princes under their influence. **Jam** shows that this was recent.

## CHAPTER XVI.

24. **Nullas . . . urbes**: here is indicated the most fundamental difference between the early institutions of the Greeks and Romans

and those of the Germans. The Greeks and Romans at a very early period adopted the custom of living in cities, and made the city their type of free government; the Germans continued to live in villages or scattered habitations (*Höfe*) until after the time of Charles the Great. See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 132. Indeed, the aversion of the Germans to cities went so far that the destruction of cities generally followed at once upon their conquest of a country. (Arnold, p. 232.)

25. **ne pati quidem**, etc.: the position of **quidem** shows that the emphasis is placed upon **pati**; **inter se** qualifies **pati**, and **junctas sedes** is to be taken as equivalent to **urbes**. (Waitz.)

26. **Colunt discreti ac diversi**: in this passage is seen a distinct advance from the condition of things depicted by Cæsar (*B. G.* vi. 22), from which individual possession and separate dwellings seem to be entirely absent. (Inama-Sternegg, p. 10.) We are not, nevertheless, to take this passage as describing a general practice of isolated dwelling, but rather the possibility of this; and the villages, **vici**, described in the next sentence, are simply one form of this practice of living **ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit**. Both ways of living, in villages and in scattered houses, are contrasted to the **junctas sedes** of the Romans. (Waitz, p. 115.) That they usually lived in villages is implied in the description (Chap. XIX.) of the punishment of adultery: *per omnem vicum verberare agit*.

These two systems, that of scattered habitations, *Höfe*, and of villages, *Dörfer*, were both in practice among the early Germans. The village system, an outgrowth of the family organization, has been investigated by Von Maurer and others, whose views will be found best represented in English in Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities*. Inama-Sternegg has made a study of the opposing system, and has shown that the village system was far from being as universal as is often assumed. See also *Studies in the Early History of Institutions*, by D. W. Ross (Cambridge, 1880), who undertakes to disprove entirely the theory of village communities. The present passage in Tacitus is one of the most important pieces of evidence on the subject. It is often taken (as by Schweizer-Sidler) to describe the two systems,—the *Hof* in **colunt discreti**, etc.; the *Dorf* in **vicos locant**, etc. It is not likely, however, that Tacitus distinguished so minutely as this; he appears only to describe in general terms the rural life of the Germans as contrasted with the urban life of the Romans. Another contrast is pointed out in the villages themselves, in which the houses stood by themselves with little court-yards, **spatio circumdat**, as at present in America, not as in the Italian villages (and in those of Europe at the present day), **conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis**.

29. **remedium**: in apposition with the preceding clause. It may be questioned whether either of these reasons is the true one; probably it was the native fancy of the Germans for individual life.

30. **inscitia**, ablative.

31. **materia**, *timber*.

32. **informi**, *unhewn*: not, however, log cabins; the beams were placed vertically (hence the word *stockwerk*), the spaces between them being sometimes filled with earth. (Arnold, p. 246.) — **citra**, *without*: see *Agricola*, Chap. I.

34. **picturam** cannot mean *house-painting*, — covering the house with a uniform color, but such a combination of colors as gives the general effect of a picture, without, however, representing actual forms (it is only *imitetur*); **lineamenta colorum**, *colored lines*. These colors were probably daubed upon the earth or clay which filled the spaces between the beams. — **solent**, etc.: probably not the same nations, at any rate not the same persons, who lived in houses.

9. 4. **eo ipso . . . quod**: *for the very reason that*. — **fallunt**, *escape notice*.

## CHAPTER XVII.

6. **cetera intecti**: *i.e.*, when in the house. Cæsar says (*B. G.* iv. 1) that the Suevi had no clothing but skins: *quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta*.

7. **veste**: an ablative of specification. The distinction between the rich and poor is not in their having such an under-garment, — for all wore it, — but in its quality and material. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

8. **fluitante**: such flowing garments have always been characteristic of the Asiatic nations.

10. **ripae**, *sc. Rheni*. — **ut quibus**, *sc. sit*. (Gr. § 320, *e*; G. § 636; H. § 519, 3, 1.) The idea of the passage is that those near the frontier obtain by trade woven stuffs which they like better; the more distant and less civilized take pride in the elegance of their furs. Compare the modern Japanese, who wear broadcloth and silk hats.

12. **maculis pellibusque**: a hendiadys, — *spots made from the hides*. The animals here referred to, **quas . . . Oceanus . . . gignit**, are probably ermines, seals, etc.

15. **amictibus**: the outer garment, as distinguished from the **vestis**. — **purpura**: probably a border colored red from some plant.

16. **in manicas non extendunt**: the *stola* of the Roman women had sleeves.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

22. **plurimis nuptiis**, *dative*; cf. Verg. *Æn.* vii. 333, *conubis ambire Latinum*. As an example, Ariovistus had two wives, one

of his own nation, the other sent by her brother, the king of the Noricans (*B. G. i. 53*).

23. **Dotem**: the **dos** of the Romans was strictly a *marriage portion*, brought by the wife to the husband on marriage. The **dos** here mentioned, which retained this name in medieval usage, is just the opposite; it was a price paid by the husband to the parents of the wife, in whose *manus* (*mundium*) she was, for the dissolution of this authority, or rather its transference to him. (Schröder in *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxi. p. 291.)

24. **propinqui**: a sort of family council, in which the new family relations were founded. (Waitz, p. 61.)

27. **scutum cum framea gladioque**: Sohm (p. 551) considers this ceremonial as essentially the same with that in Chap. XIII.; in both cases the *mundium* of the father is dissolved, and a new authority established by the gift of sword and spear, — in the one case by the lord, in the other case by the husband.

28. **in haec munera**, in reference to these gifts.

29. **hoc . . . haec . . . hos**: notice the attraction of all these demonstratives to agree with their appositives.

10. 3. **rursus, quae**: most editions read **rursusque**, which has equally good manuscript authority (*b.*; *c.* has **quae**). It would, however, appear to make the accusative **quae** subject of **referantur**; moreover, the reading here given marks more distinctly the successive acts on the part of the daughter-in-law, — **quae accipiant . . . quae . . . referantur**.

## CHAPTER XIX.

4. **saepa pudicitia**, with well-guarded modesty. — **spectaculorum . . . conviviorum**: the indecencies of the public shows, and the familiarities and excitements of conviviality.

5. **Litterarum secreta**, clandestine correspondence, — “billets doux.”

7. **poena praesens et maritis permissa**: the authority of the man over his wife and children was similar to that of the Roman *paterfamilias*, but not so extensive and well defined.

8. **Accisis**: this is the reading of all the best manuscripts; a few have **abscisis**, which would perhaps be preferable, but not so much better as to overbalance the weight of authority. But that would mean *shorn*, while **accisis** is rather *clipped*.

13. **saeculum**, the spirit of the times. — **adhuc = etiam**. — **eae civitates**: implying that it was not a universal practice among them



17. **ne tamquam maritum**, etc. : *i.e.*, their love is not placed upon the man to whom they are united, but upon the married state, which, once entered upon, is perpetual for them even after the husband's death.

18. **Numerum liberorum**, etc. : the German father had, like the Roman *paterfamilias*, power of life and death over his children, and in this was included the right of exposing and thus putting to death new-born children ; but this legal power was limited by public opinion, **boni mores**.

19. **agnatis** : not in its legal sense of descendants in the male line, but in the popular meaning, *after-born children* ; *i.e.*, born *post familiam constitutam*, when the inheritance is already determined and an heir exists whose rights would be disturbed.

20. **alibi** : *i.e.*, particularly in Rome.

## CHAPTER XX.

21. **nudi** : see note on **nudi**, Chap. VI. (p. 3, l. 33). — **sordidi**, *shabby*, especially in clothing ; that they were not dirty is shown by their regular baths (Chap. XXII.).

24. **Dominum ac servum** : this describes the mild and patriarchal type of slavery found in early society.

31. **Sorum filiis** : this close relation between the nephew and his uncles on his mother's side is frequently observed among primitive nations. Inheritance is often in the same line ; not, however, among the Germans, as is shown by the expression **heredes . . . sui cuique liberi**, etc. The Latin name of the uncle on the mother's side — *avunculus*, "little grandfather"—points to the same condition of things. This usage is generally explained by the promiscuous intercourse and uncertainty of parentage among savages ; but among Aryan nations it appears to be because after the father's death the sister came under the guardianship of the brother.

11. 1. **nullum testamentum** : this is the universal custom among primitive peoples ; see Maine, *Ancient Law*, chap. vi.

2. **fratres, patruī, avunculi** : *i.e.*, inheritance was in the male line in preference to the female.

3. **Quanto** is correlative to **tanto** : **quo** is ablative of cause. Halm reads **quanto**, making this phrase also correlative to **tanto** (*b. has quo ; B. C., tanto*). — **propinquorum**, *blood relations*, is contrasted with **affinium**, *connections by marriage* ; **propinquus** is, however, a word of more general meaning, indicating any close relation, whether of kinship, neighborhood, or obligation.

5. **orbitatis**: in Rome, childless old men and women received very special attentions from fortune-hunters, in the hope of being remembered in their wills. As Horace says (*Epistles*, i. 1, 77):

*sunt qui  
Crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras  
Excipiantque senes, quos in vivaria mittant.*

## CHAPTER XXI.

5. **Suscipere**, etc.: this right of feud was a natural outgrowth of the institution of the family, — not based upon the right of inheritance, but developed side by side with it. (Waitz, p. 71.)

7. **luitur**: this is the wergild of later times (**satisfactio** = **compositio**.) It will be noticed that it went to the family, not its head or representative: **recipit satisfactionem universa domus**. (Waitz.)

9. **utiliter in publicum**: this commutation of the blood-feud into a money payment was of advantage for the public peace.

10. **juxta**, in connection with: according to Holtzmann, in proportion to.

12. **hospitiis**: compare Cæsar, *B. G.* vi. 23: *hospitem violare fas non putant; qui quacumque de causa ad eos venerunt, ab injuria prohibent, sanctos habent; hisque omnium domus patent victusque communicatur*.

15. **Cum defecere**: this appears to refer to the old German custom of not extending this right of hospitality longer than three days. (Holtzmann) — **hospes**, *host*.

21. **data imputant**: *i.e.*, as imposing an obligation.

## CHAPTER XXII.

23. **in diem**: the Romans, as is well known, were early risers; this chapter, indeed, contains a number of contrasts between German and Roman manners.

24. **calida**: Cæsar says (*B. G.* iv. 1), *locis frigidissimis . . . lavarentur in fluminibus*. Warm baths were common among the Germans in the middle ages. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

26. **sua cuique mensa**: this probably means that, like most half-civilized people, they ate by themselves and where they pleased, not at a common table.

27. **Diem noctemque continuare**, *turn day and night into one*.

29. **raro conviciis**: a strong contrast to the more southern nations, with whom a slight dispute is argued with loud words and violent gestures.

31. **asciscendis principibus**: this expression has been much debated, but appears to refer to the election of the magistrates referred to in Chap. XII.; these banquets were a sort of caucus for the discussion of candidates, as well as other matters of public interest, **de pace . . . et bello**, and also family alliances, **jungendis affinitatibus**. It is to be noticed that the election was not made for a limited time, but for life, or at least for as long as the person possessed the requisite strength and vigor (Waitz, p. 271); for this reason the word **ascisco**, denoting properly the reception into a body of men, or corporation, is precisely in place.

34. **simplices**, *open-hearted*.

35. **adhuc** qualifies **secreta**.

12. 2. **salva utriusque temporis ratio est**, *each time receives its due consideration*. **Temporis** is objective genitive.

#### CHAPTER XXIII.

5. **frumento** = **tritico**, *wheat*.

6. **corruptus**, *fermented*.

8. **lac concretum**: not cheese (**caseus**), but *curds*. — **blandimentis**: *i.e.*, spices, etc.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

15. **infestas**: *i.e.*, pointed towards them.

17. **quamvis** qualifies **audacis**.

18. **quod mirere**, *a matter of surprise*; **quod** relates to the clause. Among the Romans games of chance were only allowed in festivities, etc.

22. **juvenior**: this form is common in late Latin.

24. **fidem**, *honor*.

25. **per commercia tradunt**, "*trade off*."

#### CHAPTER XXV.

26. **Ceteris servis**: these were serfs, bound to the soil and to labor, but otherwise free, like the Roman *colonus*. Each had his home and assigned lot of land, for which he paid in produce and other articles — a very mild form of servitude, strongly contrasted with the excessive cruelty of Roman household slavery.

27. **descriptis per familiam ministeriis**: the Roman household had a large number of slaves, each with his duties precisely and minutely defined.

30. **hactenus**, *only so far*: probably this whole description is somewhat exaggerated. — **domūs**: *i.e.*, of the master.

35. **Raro aliquod momentum**, etc.: a marked contrast to the condition of things in Rome, where noble houses and even the empire itself were controlled by freedmen.

13. 1. **iis gentibus quae regnantur**: this shows that not all nations were ruled by kings; the royal governments were, as will be seen, chiefly in the north and east of Germany.

3. **impares libertini**: *the fact that the freedmen are inferior*, — a common usage with participles, and not unusual with adjectives.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

5. **Fenus agitare**: not *lend on interest*, but deal in money, as a business. (Schweizer-Sidler.) **In usuras extendere** is to continue the interest to *compound interest*, by adding interest to principal.

6. **servatur**: *sc. abstinentia a fenore agitando*. — **vetitum esset**: *i.e.*, by law. — **Agri pro numero cultorum**, etc.:

This passage may be freely rendered as follows: *It is their practice to have their lands taken into possession by communities turn by turn, in amounts proportioned to the number of their members, and afterwards to share these out among the members according to rank. The wide extent of the tracts occupied makes this division easy: they change the fields in cultivation every year, and there is land left over.*

This difficult passage is the subject of more controversy than any other in the book, but finds its best explanation by comparison with a passage in Cæsar (*B. G.* vi. 22), describing essentially the same condition of things: *magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt*. Compare also *B. G.* iv. 1, and Horace's description of the Getæ (*Od.* iii. 24, 14): *nec cultura placet longior æquua*. Tacitus' description is not so explicit: the expression **occupantur**, *are taken into possession*, is the correlative of **attribuunt**, *assign*, and the use of the present tense, describing a custom, corresponds to Cæsar's statement, that the occupants are obliged to take another piece of land the next year. But Tacitus says nothing of the magistrates in connection with it, nor does he limit the occupation to one year: indeed, the context would imply an occupation of more than one year. On the other hand, Tacitus adds the important statement that after the occupation they share out the lands, **partiuntur**, among themselves, — a statement directly opposed to Cæsar's: *neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios*; and again (iv. 1), *privata ac separati agri apud eos nihil est*. Tacitus appears, therefore, to describe a condition of things somewhat further advanced than Cæsar's. In Cæsar's time the Germans were hardly advanced beyond the nomadic stage, and their clans and families merely received yearly assignments of land for occupation and rude cultivation. In Tacitus' time, one hundred and fifty years later, the assignments were probably made for longer periods, and at any rate the tracts of land thus assigned were divided among the individuals; moreover, it does not appear that the occupation was necessarily by clans founded upon kinship. This would indicate a decided advance from nomadic life; not yet permanent habitations, or private property in land, — probably not even collective *property* in land, — but already separate households, with

separate lots of land and individual cultivation. It should be noticed further that Cæsar says (vi. 22): *agriculturae non student, majorque pars eorum victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit*, — a clear description of pastoral life; while the description of Tacitus shows that considerable attention was paid to agriculture, although at a low stage; *sola terra seges imperatur*. Compare also the mention of barley and wheat, Chaps. XXIII. and XXV. Roscher calls this "a masterly description of very 'extensive' culture," and shows conclusively that it cannot apply to any artificial method of cultivation like the so-called "Three-field system" of the middle ages. He would rather illustrate it from the Tartars of the Volga, who occupy a tract of land until it is exhausted, and then pass in a body to another tract.

The general features of the description are, therefore, clear and intelligible; there remain, however, some perplexities in single words. **Cultorum** may denote peasants or farmers; is probably, however, used as in Chap. XXVIII., for *inhabitants*, meaning the members of the group, whether a clan or otherwise, who occupied a distinct tract of land. The occupation by a definite group of persons is clearly implied in the expression **ab universis**, which is regularly used to denote a number of individuals composing a united whole. **Universis** properly requires a noun with it, probably **cultoribus**, to be supplied from **cultorum**. One manuscript reads **viciis** for **in vices**, and this is accepted by Waitz; but **vicius** would hardly be used to express a corporate body; moreover, it is not likely that the Germans had yet passed completely from the organization based upon kinship to the village community. The expression **in vices**, *turn by turn*, expresses very well the shifting occupation of these communities. The phrase **secundum dignationem** presents even more difficulty and variety of interpretation. Probably the obvious rendering, *according to their rank*, is the correct one, — **dignatio** meaning nobility, office, and other grounds of distinction, although here too, as in Chap. XIII., it may have an active meaning, *according to estimate*, whether of man or of land. This again would imply a change since Cæsar's time, for Cæsar says distinctly that all had an equal share: *cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat* (B. G. vi. 22).

9. **facilitatem**, etc.: I punctuate with Müllenhoff, making the clause **arva**, etc., explain the preceding one. **Camporum spatia** is not the *wide stretches of plain*, as it might mean, but *the great extent of the fields* occupied by the several communities.

10. **Nec enim**, etc., this is one of Tacitus' pregnant constructions, — *they do not enter into a contest with the productiveness of the soil*, in order to extort as much from it as possible. The causal conjunction relates to the description that precedes; this system of shifting occupation and culture is adopted because they do not enter, etc.

11. **labore**, ablative of means: the **ut**-clauses explain the purpose of **contendunt**.

13. **terrae**, dative after **imperatur**; **sola seges**, *the corn crop alone*.

15. **autumni** . . . **nomen**: e.g., in English the names *Spring*, *Summer*, *Winter*, are of Germanic origin; *Autumn* is Latin.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

This chapter also contains customs strongly contrasted to those of the Romans.

18. **crementur**: the custom of burning the dead was kept up until Christian times.

22. **gravem**: in its physical meaning; cf. Ovid (*Am.* iii. 9, 68): *sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo*.

24. **ponunt**, lay aside.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

30. **divus Julius**: Cæsar says (*B. G.* vi. 24), *fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent*. — **etiam Gallos . . . transgressos**: referring back to **quæ nationes . . . commigraverint**. "At present it is the Germans that invade Gaul; formerly it was the other way." As a matter of fact, however, the Gauls in Germany were probably not invaders, but a remnant left behind on their migration from east to west. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

33. **promiscuas adhuc**, still common.

34. **Hercyniam silvam**: the *Hercynian Forest* was a general name for the great mountain range stretching easterly from the country of the Chatti (Hesse, Chap. XXX.) to the Carpathians, north of Hungary. It includes, therefore, all the ranges which surround Bohemia; the Marcomani, who certainly occupied Bohemia, are said by Velleius Paterculus (ii. 108) to have occupied *incinctos Hercynia silva campos*. The territory here described by Tacitus is easily identified by a glance at the map. The Rhine, the Main (which runs west into the Rhine), and the *Böhmerwald* (forming the western boundary of Bohemia), form a rude quadrangle, embracing the northern part of Bavaria and portions of Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse Darmstadt, which was the territory formerly occupied by the Helvetians. Beyond the *Böhmerwald*, **ulteriora**, was the home of the Boii, *Boihemum*, from which they had been expelled by the Marcomani (Chap. XLII.).

14. 5. **Germanorum natione**: the Osi lived on the confines of Moravia and Hungary, a part of Germania, in the geographical sense of the word as used by Tacitus. In Chap. XLIII. we learn that they were not German by nationality, but Pannonian; that is, a branch of the Illyrian race, represented by the modern Albanians.

8. **inopia** and **libertate**: ablative absolute. **Olim** refers to the time before their migration, — "they were free and poor then, and have neither bettered their condition nor made it worse." — **utriusque ripæ**: i.e., of the Danube; the Aravisci lived on its right bank, in Lower Austria.

9. **Treveri et Nervii**: he here passes to the subject proposed in the last chapter, **quæ nationes ex Germania in Gallias commigraverint**. Both these tribes are familiar from Cæsar's *Gallic War*; the Treveri have also left their name to the modern city of Treves (*Augusta Treverorum*), in Rhenish Prussia; the Nervii lived in central Belgium. Like all the Belgian tribes (see Cæs. *B. G.* ii. 4) they claimed a German origin, and may be assumed to have been at all events partly German. Strabo (iv. 3, 4) says distinctly that the Nervii were Γερμανικόν ἔθνος; but of the nation of the Treveri, Cæsar [Hirtius] only says (*B. G.* viii. 25), *cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat*, while a late writer states positively that their language was Gallic. — **circa**, in respect to; **originis** limits **affectationem**.

12. **haud dubie** qualifies **Germanorum**: the nations previously mentioned were of doubtful nationality. The four nations here enumerated held the left bank of the Rhine — the Ubii about Cologne, the Vangiones about Worms, the Nemetes about Spire, the Triboci about Strasburg. All of these are mentioned by Cæsar, and the three last were among the followers of Ariovistus.

14. **Ubii**. These were the first Germans who entered into friendly relations with Rome. As early as B.C. 55 they allied themselves with Cæsar (*B. G.* iv.) against the powerful Suevi. They were afterwards, B.C. 39, removed across the Rhine, where they received lands, occupying a relation to the empire somewhat like that of the *Laeti* of the later empire, rendering military service (**ut arcerent**) in return for their lands. A.D. 50 a Roman colony was founded in their territories, called *Colonia Agrippina* (Cologne), from Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and mother of Nero. The masculine form, **conditor**, is used here for a woman; it may be, however, that it refers not to Agrippina, from whom the colony was named, but her grandfather Agrippa, who removed them across the Rhine.

17. **experimento fidei**: ablative of cause, *because of their proved fidelity*, not as a test of their fidelity.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

19. Having spoken of the four German tribes within the limits of the two provinces of Germany, on the left bank of the Rhine, he proceeds to speak of the Batavians, next below the Ubii, but occupying principally the delta of the Rhine, with only a little of the bank, **non multum ex ripa**. These, too, were subjects of Rome, **pars**

**Romani imperii.** Cæsar also (*B. G.* iv. 10) says that the Rhine *insulam efficit Batavorum*.

21. **Chattorum**: see Chap. XXX. Nothing is known of this migration from any other source, but Tacitus repeats the statement, *Hist.* iv. 12, giving them, however, *extrema gallicae orae vacua cultoribus simulque insulam inter vada sitam*.

23. **antiquae societatis**: see *Agricola*, Chap. XXXVI. This old alliance did not, however, prevent unjust aggressions on the part of the Romans, which led to the dangerous uprising of Civilis, A.D. 69, narrated by Tacitus in the fourth book of his *Histories*.

24. **contemnuntur**, *treated with indignity*. This passage describes perfectly the condition of the *Laeti*, holding their lands from the empire on the tenure of military service. The Austrian Military Frontier, for defence against the Turks, is occupied in precisely the same manner.

28. **Mattiacorum**: they inhabited the modern Nassau, on the right bank of the Rhine, and of the Main. The mention of these completes the enumeration of the tribes subject to the empire.

32. **ipso adhuc terrae suae solo**: the fact that they, unlike the Batavians, still inhabit their native soil, inspires them with a keener courage.

## 15. I. Decumates agros:

This is the corner of Germany lying between the Rhine and the upper course of the Danube, now comprising the principal part of Baden and Württemberg. This was a part of the territory formerly occupied by the Helvetians, and left vacant when they migrated to Switzerland; it was then occupied by poor settlers, and afterwards fortified and made a part of the empire. The frontier of the empire at this point presented no natural defences; it was therefore necessary to construct a *limes*, **limite acto**, or artificial line of fortifications, such as the Romans constructed in many places, especially in Britain. This *limes* was begun by Domitian, and finished by his successors; was, therefore, in process of construction at just about the time that the *Germania* was written, A.D. 98. It was in two parts. That which started from the Rhine, near the mouth of the Lahn in Nassau, was an earthwall with ditch, and strengthened with palisades; the eastern end, reaching the Danube west of Ratisbon, was a wall of masonry. Extensive remains of both are still extant. Fortifications also extended along the Rhine above the mouth of the Lahn. This *limes* presented a formidable obstacle to German invasion, and formed the boundary of the empire until the Allemannians forced their way across it in the fourth century, and converted the Agri Decumates into German territory, known as Swabia (from *Suevi*).

The name **Agri Decumates** is probably identical with *Agri Decumani*, used by Cicero (*Verr.* Act. ii. iii. 6, 13), and designating land held of the state upon the payment of a tenth of the produce. The word **decumates** does not occur anywhere else. For a full description of the *Limes*, and its influence upon civilization, see Arnold, *Deutsche Urzeit*, Chap. iii.

2. **dubiae possessionis**: *i.e.*, they occupied it before its possession was fully secured; they were therefore exposed to raids from the German tribes.



4. **provinciae**: partly of Upper Germany, partly of Rætia. This debatable land had no formal organization, but was held under military law, the commanders of the troops being under the authority of the governors of the two adjoining provinces (Baumstark).

### CHAPTER XXX.

5. **Chatti**: with these begins the enumeration of the independent German tribes. They occupied the territory just beyond the *limes*, north of the Main, still known by the name of Hesse (etymologically identical with *Chatti*), — perhaps the only part of Germany, except *Friesland*, in which population and name have remained essentially unchanged from the time of Augustus until now. — **ab Hercynio saltu**: *i.e.*, the mountain region just east of the Rhine and north of the Main. The Hessians occupied this whole tract, north of them being the flat lands of Westphalia, **effusis ac palustribus locis**, inhabited by the tribes mentioned in Chaps. XXXII. and XXXIII.

7. **durant siquidem colles**, etc.: this is an obscure passage, but the difficulty appears to lie in its elliptical character. I follow Church and Brodribb in understanding both verbs, **durant** and **rarescunt**, to apply at once to the Chatti and the mountains; *they continue as long as the hills continue, gradually becoming sparse as the hills grow less*.

9. **simul atque**: not *as soon as*, but = **et . . . et**. So also p. 17, l. 3. **Deponit**, *lays down*, used figuratively as *takes leave of*.

12. **electos**: as in Chap. XXII. (p. 7, l. 3), for elected officers. The emphasis falls upon this word, — *choose with care the officers whom they obey*. The whole following passage has reference to military discipline.

13. **ordines**, *sc. militares*, *ranks*: referring in general to the organization of the army. — **occasiones**: *i.e.*, of attack, ambuscade, and other military operations; it is explained further by **differre impetus**.

14. **disponere diem**, *divide the day off* into its appropriate works; **vallare noctem**, make the night secure by fortifications.

16. **ratione**: this is the reading of some of the best manuscripts (*c.*), although most manuscripts (*B.* and *b.*) and editors have **Romanae**. **Ratione** certainly makes best sense, — *by systematic discipline*, — moreover, the present is a case in point, that it was possible under some other discipline than the Roman.

18. **copiis**, *supplies of food*, etc.

20. **Rari** qualifies **pugna** as well as **excursus**.  
 22. **juxta**, *nearly allied to*.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

24. **usurpatum** agrees with the clause **ut primum . . . habitum**. Render: *the usage practised among*, etc.  
 25. **in consensum vertit** = *has become a general one*.

The custom here described is illustrated in the case of Civilis, who, in his rebellion, took a similar vow, and did not cut his hair until he had accomplished the slaughter of the Roman legions. (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 61.) It is also illustrated by the special distinction of the "long-haired kings," *reges criniti*, of the Merovingian Franks. The remark, therefore, that this **squalor** belongs especially to **ignavis et imbellibus** is probably unwarranted. (Holtzmann.) We have here three distinct statements: the vow to keep the hair unshorn, the custom of wearing the ring, and the special honors and privileges enjoyed by those who thus set themselves apart. They are described as a kind of aristocracy, who received their support from the other members of the tribe.

31. **ignominiosum id genti**: *i.e.*, in other relations, as a sign of servitude; *e.g.*, of debtor to creditor. It is suggested by Müllenhoff that the usage here described was symbolical of consecration to the god of war, Tiu. (Schweizer-Sidler.)

33. **Plurimis**: superlative of eminence, *very many*. — **jam carent**: *i.e.*, they remain so long in this condition, **ut jam caneant**, etc. •

16. I. **nova**, *strange*.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

6. **certum jam alveo**: most commentators consider this as marking a contrast to the upper Rhine, which is broken up by islands; moreover, Tacitus is here proceeding from the country of the Chatti down the river. The contrast, however, is far more marked with the lower Rhine, which divides into several channels, and it is here that Tacitus has already spoken of the river, in connection with the Batavians. Moreover, he is speaking of it here as a boundary, **qui terminus esse sufficiat**, and the upper Rhine was not a boundary, but flowed through the territory of the empire.

7. **Usipi ac Tenetēri**: these occupied the right bank of the Rhine below Coblenz, in the territory formerly occupied by the Sugambri. They afterwards moved to the south, and became the nucleus of the powerful confederacy of the Alemanni.

13. **jura successionum**, *rights of inheritance*.

14. **maximus natu**: nothing is known from any other source of any right of primogeniture among the Germans, and this statement is too vague to found an argument upon. (Waitz, p. 66.) It will be noticed that nothing is said of any such right in Chap. XX., and it may have been peculiar to the Tencteri. See, on Germanic rules of inheritance, Young, *Anglo-Saxon Family Law*, p. 132.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

16. **Juxta**: this seems to mean *by the side of*, *i.e.*, away from the river. The Usipetes and Tencteri dwelt upon the Rhine, the Bructeri east of them, about the modern city of Münster. The prophetess Veleda (Chap. VIII.), who was so prominent in the insurrection of Civilis, belonged to this tribe. They were not so utterly cut to pieces, **penitus excisis**, but that they are several times afterwards mentioned, and gave their name to the medieval Gau, *Borahtra*.

17. **Chamāvos et Angrivarios**: the Angrivarii lived upon the Weser about Minden, where they gave their name in the middle ages to the middle district of the Saxons, *Engern*. The Chamavi were probably southwest of them, in the neighborhood of Hamm.

18. **penitus excisis**: nothing is known of this event from any other source.

23. **oblectationi oculisque**: a hendiadys, *for a delight to their eyes*.

25. **urgentibus imperii fatis**: some interpret this as meaning that Tacitus apprehends the overthrow of the empire at the hands of the Germans. It is hardly likely, however, from the tone of the rest of the book, to have so specific an application as this; only a feeling that the empire is in a decline.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

27. **a tergo**: this must mean to the south, *i.e.*, further up the Weser, since the Frisii, **a fronte**, were to the north.

29. **Frisii**: this nation, like the Chatti, have retained name and seats unaltered from that day to this. They inhabited the coast of the North Sea from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Ems, *Amisia*.

32. **lacus**: a portion of these inlets were, in 1282, converted by an inundation into the Zuyder Zee.

33. *illa, sc. parte.*

34. **superesse . . . vulgarit**: some sailor's story of cliffs rising out of the ocean. (Schweizer-Sidler.) See the mention of Hercules in Chap. III.

**17. 2. Druso, Germanico**: it is a question whether the comma belongs here. Drusus, brother of Tiberius, received the name Germanicus, in virtue of his German victories; still it never became a common appellation for him, but is given generally to his son, who, as well as he, conducted expeditions in these regions. The great expedition of Drusus was B.C. 12; that of Germanicus, A.D. 15. The asyndeton is quite characteristic of Tacitus.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

7. **ingenti flexu**: this refers to the peninsula of Jutland.

8. **Chaucorum gens**: the description given of their residence is hard to understand. It is clear that they occupied the coast from the Frisians to the peninsula, but it is incredible that they could have extended along the frontiers of all these nations, **lateribus obtenditur**, so as to touch the Chatti. Probably the explanation is to be found in the next chapter. The space here described was occupied by the Cherusci and Fosi, who had sunk into a degraded condition. Tacitus does not say that they were under vassalage to the Chauci, but it seems probable, and the words **in latere Chaucorum Chattorumque** may mean that they extended from the Chauci to the Chatti.—**incipiat**: Gr. § 313, g. end; G. § 608, R. 1; H. 516, i. 2, end. Tacitus is fond of using the subjunctive with both **quamquam** and **donec**: see next note.

10. **sinuetur**: Gr. § 328; G. § 574, Rem.; H. 522, ii. 1.

12. **populus . . . nobilissimus**, etc.: this encomium upon the Chauci appears to have been called out by their having been in alliance with the Romans. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xiv. 2) describes the Chauci as an eye-witness, as a miserable race of fishermen, living on a barren sea-coast, — evidently only an outlying portion of the people. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 106) speaks of *Chaucorum juvenis, infinita numero, immensa corporibus, situ locorum tutissima*.

14. **impotentia**, want of self-control, turbulence; so in Horace, *Od.* iii. 30, 3, *Aquila impotens*. — **secreti**, secluded.

17. **ut superiores agant**: the clause is object of **assequuntur**.

20. **eadem fama, sc. quae bellantibus**.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

21. **Cherusci**: see note on last chapter. They inhabited between the Weser and Elbe, north of the Hartz mountains. This was the nation which, under Arminius, led the uprising against Rome, A.D. 9; afterwards they disappear from history, or rather are merged in the new nation of the Saxons, of which they, the Chauci, and the Angrivarii were the principal elements. (Arnold.)

24. **impotentes, turbulent**; see note on **impotentia**, Chap. XXXV. — **quiescas**: Gr. § 311 a; cf. G. § 250.

25. **modestia, moderation**; **nomina, reputation**.

27. **in sapientiam**: *i.e.*, its reputation.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

31. **sinum**: as in Chap. I., *bend of land*. The peninsula of Jutland had its name, Cimbric Chersonesus, from this nation; Ptolemy places them at its northern end. One is tempted to identify the *Cimbri* with the *Kymri* (Welsh), and thus to make them out to have been Kelts; and Latham, who always limits the German nationality where he can, thinks that not only they, but their companions the Teutones, were Kelts.

32. **gloria** is best taken as nominative.

33. **utraque ripa**: this must mean both banks of the same river, and this can hardly have been any but the Rhine, as that is the one regularly referred to when **ripa** is used.

34. **castra ac spatia**: a hendiadys, — *the spaces occupied by their camps*; so **molem manusque**, *magnitude of their forces*.

35. **tam magni exitus**: this refers to their defeat by Marius on the Raudian Fields, B.C. 101.

18. 1. **Sexcentesium et quadragiesimum annum**: it was really A.U.C. 641, B.C. 113. The second consulship of Trajan was A.D. 98, in which year the *Germania* was written.

6. **vincitur**, *the conquest has been going on*.

9. **Arsacis**: the name Arsaces was assumed by every king of Parthia, in honor of an alleged ancestor, just as Cæsar was by every Roman emperor.

10. **caedem Crassi**: Marcus Crassus, the colleague of Pompey in the consulship (B.C. 70 and 55), received the government of the East as proconsul, but was defeated at Carrhae (B.C. 53), and after-

wards killed. — **amisso et ipse Pacoro**, etc.: Pacorus, son of the Parthian king Orôdes, was defeated and killed by Ventidius, an officer of Mark Antony, B.C. 38. There is a touch of satire in the expression, as Ventidius had been in early life a mule-driver. For the ablative absolute **amisso Pacoro**, the English would use an active construction, *the subjection of the East to Ventidius* (Gr. 292, Rem. a), and that, too, after losing [its commander] *Pacorus*.

12. **Carbone**, etc.: all the five here mentioned were defeated by the Cimbri except Cassius, who was defeated and killed by the Tigurini (a Helvetian canton, therefore Gauls) B.C. 107; see Cæs. B. G. i. 12. The other disasters took place in the great Cimbrian invasion; Carbo's defeat was B.C. 113, the other three, 105.

14. **Varum**: this decisive victory of the Germans was A.D. 9.

16. **C. Marius**: he gained great and decisive victories over the Teutones, B.C. 102, and the Cimbri, 101. The campaigns of Julius Cæsar were during his Gallic War, B.C. 58 to 40; Drusus and his brother Tiberius (Nero) and son Germanicus conducted successful campaigns during the reign of Augustus; Germanicus also in that of Tiberius.

18. **Gaii Caesaris**: the emperor Caligula; see *Agricola*, Chap. XIII.

19. **occasione discordiæ nostræ**: this refers to the civil wars of A.D. 68 and 69, and to the revolt of the Batavian Civilis, described by Tacitus in the fourth and fifth books of the *Histories*.

22. **triumphati . . . sunt**: the fictitious triumph of Domitian, A.D. 84; see *Agricola*, Chap. XXXIX.

Baumstark says of the historical sketch in this chapter, that "it ranks among the most brilliant passages of the *Germania*."

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Suevi of Tacitus present a puzzling problem. His description of them occupies eight chapters, ending **Hic Sueviæ finis**, at the end of Chap. XLV. According to this, their confederacy embraced far more than half of the Germans, including as well the Suiones of Sweden and the Aestii of Livonia as the Marcomani of Bohemia and the Angli of Jutland. This is hard to accept. Another puzzle arises from the fact that Cæsar mentions the Suevi, as Tacitus does, as the greatest and most powerful nation of Germany, but places them further to the west, where they came immediately in contact with the Romans. It is generally assumed that the Suevi of Cæsar were the Chatti, whom he does not mention. Strabo, too (vii. p. 290), says that they extended ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου, and, in part, πέραν τοῦ Ἀλβίου, but mentions the Χάττοι independently. One is strongly tempted to accept Mommsen's opinion (*Hist. of Rome*, iv. p. 282) that *Suevi* was a general term, meaning "the wandering people or nomads" (from *schweben*). It is certain that the Suevi of Tacitus comprise the less settled and civilized tribes, excluding only the more civilized nations of the west.

23. **quorum**: possessive genitive.

27. **obliquare crinem**: this appears to describe the custom of combing the hair back from every side, — thus *sideways* for the most part, — and twisting it in a knot on the crown. Sidonius Apollinaris describes as follows Theodoric the Visigoth: *capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planitie frontis in verticem caesaries refuga crispatur*. See also Juvenal (xiii. 164), *Germani . . . flavam caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro*.

31. **apud Suevos**: some editors take this passage as describing another mode of arranging the hair; it seems, however, to be only a repetition of that described before, introduced by way of emphasizing the contrast with other nations, and showing that it was kept up until old age.

32. **horrentem**, *shaggy*. — **retro sequuntur**: a rhetorical way of saying that they *smooth* their hair *back*.

33. **in ipso solo vertice**: a puzzling expression, probably meaning a single knot on the top of the head.

19. I. **hostium oculis**: *i.e.*, not *amicarum oculis, ut ament amenturve*.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

4. **Semnōnes**: these are supposed by some to have been the Suevi described by Cæsar in the fourth book of his *Gallie War*. They were known in later times as Juthungi, and were the source of the Suevi or Swabians of modern history. They inhabited between the Elbe and the Oder, in Lower Lusatia, and northerly to the neighborhood of Berlin and Frankfurt. — **antiquitatis**: an objective genitive; *the belief in their antiquity*.

5. **Stato tempore**: a regularly recurring anniversary; **statuto tempore** would imply a special appointment for the time.

6. **ejusdem sanguinis**: probably this refers to the entire body of the Suevi, inasmuch as this celebration, held among the Semnones, is the voucher for their rank as the most ancient tribe of the race. "This assembly of the Nationality (*Stamm*) had," says Sohm, "no political functions, but only sacrificial": it was a sort of amphictyony.

7. **homine**: no doubt a captive. This usage would indicate a lower degree of civilization than that of the more westerly tribes.

8. **horrenda primordia**: it was in the opening rites that the terror existed.

11. **attolli** and **evolvuntur**, are used reflexively, like the Greek middle.

12. **Eo respicit**, *has reference to this*; explained by **tamquam**, etc.

13. **initia gentis**, etc.: *i.e.*, the god from whom they were sprung had his residence in this grove.

14. **Adicit auctoritatem**, *adds authority* (power), *i.e.*, to their sanctity.

15. **centum pagi**: so Cæsar, *B. G.* iv. 1.; but see note on **centeni**, Chap. XII. — **magno corpore**: *i.e.*, corporate extent and power.

## CHAPTER XL.

17. **Longobardos**: this is the reading of the manuscripts, not **Langobardos**, as given in most editions. They lived on the left bank of the Lower Elbe, in the territory of Lüneburg, where their name is represented by the modern city of Bardewic. The name is variously explained, as *long beards* and *long battle-axes*. They are the source of the Longobards or Lombards, who conquered Italy under Alboin, A.D. 568. — **plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus**: they, the Chauci on the west, the Cherusci on the south, and the Semnones on the east.

19. **Reudigni deinde**, etc.: as he has approached the Longobardi from the south, **deinde** would imply proceeding in the same direction; all these petty tribes are placed to the north, in Mecklenburg, Lauenburg, and the Cimbric peninsula. The Anglii are the only ones of importance, as it was they who conquered Britain and gave it the name England.

23. **terram matrem**: this is a Roman and uncertain interpretation of the name, derived probably from the resemblance of the procession and the bath to the worship of Magna Mater in Rome. The name Nerthus is probably connected with *Njord*, the Scandinavian god of the sea, father of *Frey* and *Freya*, in whose worship some usages are traced similar to those here described.

25. **insula**: perhaps Alsen, off the eastern coast of Schleswig, where remains of a sanctuary have been discovered. Rügen, with which it used to be identified, is evidently too far to the east.

34. **numen ipsum**, *the goddess herself* (**si credere velis**), not her image.



## CHAPTER XLI.

20. 3. *secretiora, more secluded, i.e., more distant.*

5. **Hermundŭrorum**: these were afterwards the Thuringians; they inhabited the central region of Thuringia (the Saxon duchies), and extended southward to the Danube.

7. *in ripa, sc. Danubii.*

8. **colonia**: this is Augusta Vindelicorum, the modern Augsburg. — **Passim**: *i.e.*, wherever they please, not in one prescribed place, as was usual with barbarian nations.

11. **Albis oritur**: this statement is certainly incorrect, — the Elbe rose in the country of the Marcomani. Either Tacitus was misinformed, or, as Latham suggests, and seems probable, the Saale, which does rise in Thuringia, was taken as the true Elbe.

12. **notum olim**: *i.e.*, in the campaigns of Drusus (B.C. 9), Tiberius (A.D. 5), and others. “Now these invasions have ceased.”

## CHAPTER XLII.

13. **Naristi**: these lived upon the confines of Bavaria and Bohemia; the Marcomāni in Bohemia, the Quadi in Moravia.

15. **ipsa etiam sedes**, etc.: the Marcomani were situated, in the time of Drusus, upon the river Main, and passed thence to Bohemia, where their king Maroboduus founded a powerful kingdom. Their chief importance was in later history; the wars of Marcus Aurelius with the Marcomani and Quadi were the beginning of that series of contests which ended with the overthrow of the empire. It should be noted that Mommsen regards this name too as a general appellation, *frontiersmen*; see note on **Suevi**, Chap. XXXVIII.

20. **Tudri**: this king is not known from any other source; neither is anything known of the **externos reges** mentioned in the next sentence.

22. **nec minus valent**: *i.e.*, than if we assisted them with arms. See also Chap. XV.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

23. **Marsigni**, etc.: these tribes, of various nationality, were in the mountain region north of Bohemia and Moravia. **Retro** evidently means behind, from the point of view of the Danube. There

is no improbability whatever in Tacitus' statement that the Gotini were Kelts, a remnant of the primitive Keltic occupation. Latham's conjecture that **Gallica** = *Gallician*, — the name of Halitsch or Red Russia, — is plausible, but would place them too far to the east.

29. **quo magis pudeat**: *i.e.*, they should use it in making weapons.

32. **continuum montium jugum**: this must be the Riesengebirge or the Carpathians. The tribes here mentioned were north of the Carpathians, in the country east of the Oder; none of them, however, except the Lygii, can be fixed with any certainty. These occupied the territory between the Oder and Vistula, in the modern provinces of Silesia, Posen, and Little Poland. The similarity of the name to the native name of the Poles, *Lech*, gives probability to Latham's view, that the Lygii were Slavs, the ancestors of the modern Poles.

21. 1. **antiquae religionis**: certain features of this religion point also to a Slavonic character. Priests *vestitu monachico* are mentioned in Courland. The Slavic mythology has twin gods, Lel and Polel, who would have their Roman equivalents in Castor and Pollux; and among the Prussians a worship of the elk, *Alcem*, is recorded, which might easily arise from a misapprehension of the name *Alci*. (Latham.)

5. **Alcis**: this is usually taken as a dative.

7. **super vires . . . truces**, *besides their strength . . . distinguished for ferocity*, etc.; **lenocinantur**, *they enhance their native savageness*.

9. **tincta corpora**: the Britons stained their bodies, as is well known, but it is not related of any Germanic nations.

10. **formidine atque umbra**, *terror-inspiring and shadowy aspect*.

14. **Gotōnes**: these are generally assumed to be the Goths, occupying modern Prussia, north of the Lygii, upon the shores of the Baltic; they moved afterwards to southern Russia. — **regnantur**: from this it would appear that most of the nations previously mentioned were not governed by kings. — **adductius**, *more strictly*.

16. **Rugii et Lemovii**: these were in Pomerania, about the mouth of the Oder: the Rugii have left their name to the island Rügen. It is remarkable that Tacitus omits all mention of the powerful Burgundiones, who were north of the Lygii.

17. **harum gentium**: this must refer only to the last mentioned tribes, — Gotones, Rugii, and Lemovii.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

19. **Suiðnum**: this name is identical with that of the Swedes, neither the *n* of the one nor the *d* of the other belonging to the root; the modern name is *Sue-rige*, "the realm of the Swedes." It appears that Tacitus considered Scandinavia an island, and that the people of the north were as noted seamen in ancient times as in the middle ages.

21. **utrimque . . . agit**: like the dories of modern fishermen. This is still the usual form of fishing-boats in Scandinavia, and the ancient custom is illustrated by a viking-boat discovered in 1880 in Norway. See an illustrated account of it in *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1880, and the *Gartenlaube*, 1880, No. 29. See also Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping*, Vol. I. p. 336.

22. **nec remos**, etc. : this appears to refer to the *ordines remorum* of the Greek and Roman galleys. The **solutum . . . et mutabile remigium** may be the action of paddling, as in canoes, but this would not give force enough for boats to sail the ocean. Probably it refers to the use of thole-pins to hold the oars, instead of having them fastened by thongs or swivels to the sides of the boat, as was the custom among the Romans, and still is the custom in southern Europe, while the nations of the north have their oars free. For an interesting discussion of the revolution wrought by the Scandinavians in the art of navigation, see Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 306.

25. **opibus honos . . . unus imperitat**: this description of a strongly monarchical government is surprising, in the face of the generally democratic character of Germanic institutions, and especially those of the modern nations of Scandinavia; and Holtzmann suggests that the Suiones were the old inhabitants, before the migration of the Germanic Scandinavians. It may, however, be remarked that, with all their free institutions, the royal power was very great among these nations in the middle ages,—it was the aristocracy that were held in check. Moreover, if the inhabitants had migrated thither from Germany, it is a familiar fact that conquering migrations tend to elevate the power of the king. Geijer, *Geschichte von Schweden*, Vol. I. p. 10, says that the kings exercised an authority resting upon religious sanction, which to a stranger might have the appearance of being absolute, but in reality was not. **Opes** is to be taken here not as *riches*, but *power*,—their high notion of power leads them to place supreme authority in the hands of one man. (Baumstark.)

26. **jam**: in this word lies a comparison with the German nations which were under kings; these were still subject to some restrictions, **exceptionibus**. — **precario**, *resting upon a concession*, therefore *revocable*; in this word, too, lies a comparison with the royalty of the Germans proper.

29. **otiosa**: this is the manuscript reading; **manus** must be taken as collective.

## CHAPTER XLV.

33. **plgrum**: (see *Agricola*, Chap. X.) probably here means *frozen, i.e.*, in parts. It is called by Ptolemy νεκρὸς ὠκεανός, and by Pytheas πεπηγυῖα θάλασσα, — something like *curdled*.

35. **extremus**, etc.: see also a description of the midnight sun in the *Agricola*, Chap. XII.

22. 1. **sonum**, etc.: the fanciful description here given is probably derived from the accounts of the northern lights, combined with reminiscences of the Egyptian statue of Memnon and similar stories. Most manuscripts read **deorum**, but **equorum** has authority, and the entire description — horses, and rays about the head — applies accurately to the conception of the sun-god.

3. **tantum** qualifies **illuc usque**, *only so far*; as an ancient writer says: *post omnia Oceanus, post Oceanum nihil*. — **Ergo**: with this he returns from fable to description.

4. **dextro litore**: this is the eastern coast of the Baltic, beyond Prussia, where the coast bends abruptly to the north. The Aestii were undoubtedly the same people who have given their name to the modern Esthonians. They were of the Lithuanian race, like the modern Prussians. The statement that the language was similar to that of Britain must rest upon a misapprehension. Latham considers the name identical with *east*, — the name given by the Germans to the people east of them.

7. **formas aprorum**: *i.e.*, as amulets.

8. **omnium**: objective genitive.

12. **solī omnium**: at the present day amber is found on the coast of Prussia more abundantly than in the countries further east; in ancient times also it was gathered by the Gutones (Gotones), (Plin. *N. H.* xxxvii. 35) from which Latham infers that these were the same with the Aestii.

14. **ut barbaris**, *as one would expect of barbarians*.

22. **secretis**, *in the distant parts*.

27. **tentes**: Gr. § 309, *a*; G. § 597, 3; H. § 512.

30. **Suionibus . . . continuantur**: Tacitus passes here back to the western shore of the Baltic, north of the Swedes. Nothing is known of the Sitōnes, but it is surmised that a Finnish people in this region, called *Cuenas*, are meant; the name being confounded with the Germanic *quen*, woman, and thus giving rise to the story that **femina dominatur**. The name *terra feminarum* is in later times found in use for this region.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

34. **Peucinatorum**: the Peuc̃ni, or Bastarnae, were situated upon the lower Danube, — the most remote of the Germanic tribes, and the earliest mentioned, as they are met in the time of Philip of Macedon. They are one of the five branches into which the Germans are divided by Pliny (see note, Chap. II.). It appears from the present passage that they were a mixed race, by intermarriages with the Sarmatians, **conubiis mistis**. — **Venētorum**: these must be taken to be the Wends, or Slavs; the name is familiar from the Wendic kingdom in Mecklenburg in the tenth and eleventh centuries. — **Fennorum**: this name is obviously that of the Finns. The description, however, does not apply to the Finns, a manly, intelligent race, but to the Lapps. Latham suggests that the name was general for both branches of the Ugrian race, but that it is used by Tacitus only for the Lapps, while the true Finns are described under their tribal name, Sitones (Chap. XLV.). The name is probably German, meaning "Fen-people." (Schweizer-Sidler.)

35. **Sarmātis**: as remarked in the note to Chap. I., the Sarmatians are to be understood to be Tartars. From this important passage it appears that Tacitus had no notion of the Slavonic race as such, but reckoned the Slavonians as belonging either to the Germans or the Sarmatians.

23. 2. **Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum**, *all are dirty, and the chiefs are lazy.*

4. **ex moribus**, *sc. Sarmatarum.*

5. **traxerunt**, *have derived.*

6. **silvarum ac montium**: mostly the former, — the great wooded plains of Poland and Russia.

8. **domos figunt**, *they have fixed abodes.*

10. **in plaustro equoque viventibus** : a characteristic description of the customs of the Tartars. So Horace (*Od.* iii. 24, 9) :

*Scythae*  
*Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos.*

17. **aliquo ramorum nexu** : *i.e.*, wigwams.

19. **domibus** : probably to be taken as dative, like **agris**. Kritz, however, explains it as ablative of place, on the ground that these three phrases describe the three forms of industry, *agricultura*, *opificium*, *mercatura*.

22. **illis**, the Fenni; **voto**, ablative after **opus esset**.

23. **Hellusios et Oxionas** : it is hardly necessary to say that these fabulous stories have no known groundwork of fact.

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER VII. (4, 17.)

(See Notes, p. 35.)

**Nobilitate** is evidently used here not in the sense of a *body of nobility*, but a quality (like **virtute**), *noble birth*. Tacitus several times mentions **nobiles** and **nobilitas**, but nowhere defines the terms, and nowhere, except in the present passage, ascribes any political influence or power to the nobility. The origin of this nobility is uncertain, and if it had any special powers or privileges, we do not know what these were. The political constitution, as described by Tacitus, was essentially democratic, but members of rich and noble families would undoubtedly be preferred for offices of responsibility and power.

It is not to be understood that the two classes of officers mentioned, **reges** and **duces**, existed side by side. In those nations that had kings, the kings were the leaders in war, and these kings were, as has been shown, always of noble birth, regularly elected from some one family. In the nations that had no kings, Cæsar tells us (*B. G.* vi. 23) that in case of war *magistratus qui ei bello præsint . . . deliguntur*. The Saxons, as we learn from the venerable Bede (*H. E.* v. 10), did not elect these leaders **ex virtute**, but selected them by lot from among the regular magistrates: *mittunt aequaliter sortes, et quemcumque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur*. A certain analogy between these kings chosen **ex nobilitate** and leaders **ex virtute** is found among the North American Indians, whose hereditary "sachems" exercise civil authority only (but not **infinita aut libera potestas**), while the elected "chiefs" are leaders in war. (See Morgan's *Ancient Society*, p. 71.)

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